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THE
OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI
VOLUME LXX

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THE
OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI
VOLUME LXX

EDITED WITH TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES BY

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PREFACE

Part I of this volume continues our publication of early Christian texts with a codex-leaf (**4759**) interesting both for its content, part of the *Passion of St Pamoun* (a text known otherwise only in Coptic), and palaeographically — the marriage of small format with large mannered script is striking.

Part II offers new fragments of Greek fiction. **4760** contains scraps of Antonius Diogenes, with the magician Paapis and a character named Mantias; ‘Mantias’ recurs in **4761**, which may therefore belong to the same work. Both raise questions about the detailed plotting of Antonius’ epic romance. **4762** presents a louche episode between a woman and a donkey: the theme familiar from the pseudo-Lucianic *Onos* and from Apuleius, and not without some literary pretensions.

Part III publishes a further group of Demosthenes papyri, which augment the list of those given by M. R. Dilts, *Demosthenis Orationes i* (Oxford 2002). Notable are **4763**, which shows how many worthless variants can be created by scribal carelessness; and **4766** and **4767**, whose agreements with one or other branch of the medieval tradition (**4766** with A, **4767** with S) may hint that these branches existed in substance already in the Roman period.

Part IV comprises documents from two well-known dossiers. **4772–9** refer to Claudia Isidora alias Apia, a rich land-owner of the early third century AD. The new material reveals that her father was an Alexandrian aristocrat and Roman citizen, Claudius Apianus; and hints that her estates, which passed into the hands of the fiscus, were actually confiscated. A later dossier, that of the House of Apion, a consular dynasty of the fifth and sixth centuries, has been the subject of several recent papers and monographs; we take the opportunity to publish 23 further texts (**4780–4802**), which add new information about the prosopography of the family and the chronology of the period, as well as illustrating the practical administration of the family’s estates around Oxyrhynchus.

The contributions of Dr Hatzilambrou and Dr Syrkou originally formed part of their doctoral theses written at University College London under the supervision of Professor Maehler.

The indexes were compiled by Ms P. Strataki, who also helped with the keying of the volume and the reading of the proofs. Gonis wishes to thank Dr G. Azzarello and Professor B. Palme for reading a penultimate draft of **4780–4802**.

Dr Jeffrey Dean has typeset the volume and produced the plates with his customary skill and precision; and we thank Messrs Charlesworth for their dispatch in the printing and binding.

We gratefully record our debt to three learned institutions. The British Academy awarded a Visiting Professorship to the Revd Professor Chapa, which made it possible for him to pursue his research in Oxford; and a grant that enabled the employment of research assistants. The Leverhulme Trust, in awarding an Emeritus Fellowship to Professor Thomas, supported the research whose results are published in the present volume as well as in volumes LXIV and LXVI. The Arts and Humanities Research Council has continued and renewed its grant to the Oxyrhynchus Papyri Project; without its generous financial support the editing of the unpublished papyri would be seriously impaired.

December 2005

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JC = J. Chapa

RH = R. Hatzilambrou

PJP = P.J. Parsons

VG = V. Giannopoulou

DK = D. Krasne

AS= A. Syrkou

NG = N. Gonis

DO = D. Obbink

JDT = J. D. Thomas

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NUMBERS AND PLATES

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NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND ABBREVIATIONS

The basis of the method is the Leiden system of punctuation, see *CE* 7 (1932) 262–9. It may be summarized as follows:

αβγ	The letters are doubtful, either because of damage or because they are otherwise difficult to read
...	Approximately three letters remain unread by the editor
[αβγ]	The letters are lost, but restored from a parallel or by conjecture
[...]	Approximately three letters are lost
()	Round brackets indicate the resolution of an abbreviation or a symbol, e.g. (ἀρτάβη) represents the symbol ἄρ, ετρ(ατηγός) represents the abbreviation ετρ
[[αβγ]]	The letters are deleted in the papyrus
'αβγ'	The letters are added above the line
<αβγ>	The letters are added by the editor
{αβγ}	The letters are regarded as mistaken and rejected by the editor

Bold arabic numerals refer to papyri printed in the volumes of *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*.

The abbreviations used are in the main identical with those in J. F. Oates *et al.*, *Checklist of Editions of Greek Papyri and Ostraca* (BASP Suppl. no. 9, ⁵2001); for a more up-to-date version of the *Checklist*, see <http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/texts/clist.html>.

CORRECTIONS TO PAPYRI PUBLISHED IN LXIX

- pp. ix-x The dates of **4710**, **4712**, **4719**, **4726**, **4727**, **4734**, and **4735** in the Table of Papyri, which differ from those in the editions, stem from an earlier table of contents, and should be ignored.
- 4719** 24-ii 2 n., para. 2 After *II*^{Pr} add *N*.
- 4720** introd., para. 3 For **4688** (*ter*) read **4734**.
- 4739** 9-11 n. For **4741** read **4747**.
- 4739** 22 n. For **4740** read **4745**.
- 4749** The date is '307', not '12 February 307'; the same date should be corrected on p. 226.

I. THEOLOGICAL TEXT

4759. PASSION OF ST PAMOUN

8 1B.187/D(6)a

14 × 25.7 cm

Sixth/seventh century
Plates II–III

Six joining fragments form almost a complete leaf of a papyrus codex containing part of the Passion of Pamoun. The chief interest of this papyrus lies in the size of its elegant script and in the fact that references to the martyrdom of Pamoun had previously been restricted to a Coptic fragment published by W. E. Crum in 1905 (*P. Lond. Copt. I* 344; see 9–10 n.).

The papyrus is generally in good condition. The upper margin survives to c.3.5 cm, the lower margin to c.2 cm, on both sides. The ↓ left-hand margin survives only in 14–15, and is implied in 22 (abbreviation of final nu) and 30 (final blank); nothing remains of the other margin, but the plausible supplement in 5–7 shows that the present edge is not far from the original. Some lines were longer (6, 10), some shorter (7, 30); the number of letters varies from 11 to 15, 13–14 being the most frequent. The number of lines per page is 15 on both sides: thus the written area was approximately 17 × 20.5 cm. Allowing for margins of at least 2 cm on either side, and applying Turner's rule that the lower margin was deeper than the upper by a proportion of 3 : 2 (E. G. Turner, *Typology of the Early Codex* (Philadelphia 1977) 25), the page would have measured approximately 22 × 30.5 cm, which means that it falls into Turner's Group 3 of papyrus codices (see *Typology* 15).

The script is regular and elegant, with a clear preference for rounded forms. The letters are written separately with ample space between them; the interlinear space is also generous. The size of the letters tends to increase slightly as the page progresses: thus o in the first line of the → side—an almost perfect circle—is 6 mm in diameter, whereas the same letter in 29 is nearly 1 cm. Like o, the letters c, θ, and ε are also perfectly circular and irregular in size (especially ε and o). α and ι are rather small, compared to the rest of the letters. The contrast between thick and thin strokes is not consistent, although the verticals of κ, ν, ρ, and τ (particularly in 15) are mostly very thick and the horizontals thin. The loops of α and γ are heavy and solid. The horizontal of θ goes well beyond the right and left borders of the circle, and the horizontal of ε also extends to the right. φ is larger than the other letters. Except for φ and ρ, letters are kept to the base of the line (z, z̄, and † are not attested); however, the diagonal descending stroke of κ, which is rather long, tends to end below the line. The ascending diagonal of x starts and finishes with a little curl. Serifs are not regularly added, but are recurrent in γ and ι, in the horizontals of τ and ρ (not π), and in the verticals of τ and π. It is probable that

each new section of the text began with an enlarged letter: at least this is the case in 13, where \omicron is almost certainly the first letter of a new paragraph and is noticeably larger than the others.

The general impression is that of a luxury codex. The handwriting is characteristic of the 'Alexandrian Majuscule', also called the 'Coptic Uncial'. **4759** may be compared to BKT VIII 4 = *GBEBP* 38b (*Exodus*), assigned to the 6th century, and the famous Callimachus text in XX **2258** = *GMAW*² 47 (probably 6th/7th century). It also somewhat resembles the Paschal letter of P. Köln V 215 = *GBEBP* 47b (663?) and shows some similarities with P. Amh. II 192 = *GBEBP* 8e (Deuteronomy), assigned to the mid-6th century. The hand of a corrector in grey ink visible above line 17 may also be dated to the late 6th century (cf. P. Warren 10 = *GBEBP* 36a, of 591/2). All things considered, **4759** can probably be ascribed to the 6th/7th century.

Iotacism of ι for $\epsilon\iota$ occurs in 29. A rough breathing is attested in 15. The same sign is used over $\epsilon\iota$ in 8 and 27. Breathings were infrequently and capriciously written (Turner, *GMAW*² 11), and **4759** may suggest that in a later period the form of the rough and smooth breathings was not clearly distinguished. Punctuation is indicated by middle stop (7, 9, 18). Change of speaker is indicated by a *coronis*, as some traces in the left margin show (see between 12 and 13 and in 14). The same pattern might have been used between 23 and 24. A forked *paragraphos* has been added in 23 between the end of the last word of the section and the margin. Final ν occurring at the end of 22 is represented by a horizontal superscript dash. The following *nomina sacra* are attested: $\overline{\omega}$, $\overline{\chi\nu}$ and $\overline{\theta[\nu]}$; moreover, as often happens, $\overline{\pi\rho\alpha}$ and $\overline{\mu\rho\alpha}$ with profane meaning are also abbreviated as *nomina sacra* (see A. H. R. E. Paap, *Nomina Sacra* (Leiden 1959) 103–4, 113, et passim). However, $\overline{\pi\alpha\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha}$ is written out in 10. An addition by the scribe and a correction by a second hand in a paler ink (both printed in the text in smaller type) are attested in 11 and 17.

Evidence for the existence of a martyr named Pamoun is scanty, and so far it has not been attested in Greek sources. In Coptic papyri and inscriptions, however, we have references to several saints with the name of $\overline{\pi\alpha\mu\omicron\upsilon\eta\eta\eta}$, one of them surely a martyr. The text of **4759** does not overlap any of the extant passions in which Pamoun is mentioned (see 9–10 n.). Because of its fragmentary condition, it is not possible to know whether the codex was dedicated exclusively to the *Passion of Pamoun*, or was part of another passion in which his story was included.

The other person mentioned in **4759** is the governor in charge of the trial. His name is incomplete but may be identified with Sossianus Hierocles, a well-known persecutor of Christians at the beginning of the fourth century (see below, 24 n.).

The style is not excessively loaded with literary ornamentation, if we compare it with late Coptic martyrdoms. However, the speeches, especially on the part of Pamoun, are elaborate and polished, and do not share the simplicity of a documentary record of proceedings, as we find for instance in the Coptic *Passion of Stephanos*,

which is probably the most authentic account of a martyr's trial; see P. van Minnen, 'The Earliest Account of a Martyrdom in Coptic', *Anal. Boll.* 113 (1995) 23. On Coptic martyrs see principally T. Baumeister, *Martyr invictus: Der Märtyrer als Sinnbild der Erlösung in der Legende und im Kult der frühen koptischen Kirche* (Münster 1972); J. Horn, *Studien zu den Märtyrern des nördlichen Oberägypten i–ii* (Wiesbaden 1986–92).

For other Greek passions on papyrus, see van Haelst nos. 703, 707–10; add: *Apology of Phileas of Thmouis*, P. Chester Beatty XV (4th century); *Passion of St Dioscorus*, L 3529 (4th century); *Martyrium of Thecla and Paese?*, P. Berl. Sarisch. 3 (4th/5th century); *Martyrium of Dioscorus?*, *Stud. Pap.* 16 (1977) 69–72; *BASP* 31 (1994) 121–4 (6th century).

There are also two dubious fragments that may have belonged to Passions: P. Ryl. I 10 (6th century) (= van Haelst 714), and P. Lond. Lit. 246 (6th century) (= van Haelst 944). Images of an unpublished Greek martyrdom of the 5th century, P. Duke inv. 73, are available on the web. I do not include in the list the *Acts of Paul and Thecla* (P. Ant. I 13 (4th century) and I 6 (5th century) = van Haelst 609–10) and the *Martyrium Pauli* (P. Lit. Palau Rib. 18; identified by A. López García, *ZPE* 110 (1996) 132; *ZPE* 112 (1996) 202) (5th century), since these works fit better within the category of apocryphal books.

↓

	c.4]ηση.ω[		c.4]ηση.ω[.
	]ριουταιτη[		]ριουται τη[
	]ονομιασαντο[		]ονομιας αυτο[
	]σωμαλλονεφ[		σω μαλλον εφ[. .
5	]ησααυεμπρ[	5	.ησααυ εμπρ[οσ-
	]θεντουδικαστ[		θεν του δικαστ[ηρι-
	]ου.ορωοτιου.[		ου. ορω οτι ουδ[ε-
	]νοσαλλουεια[		νοσ αλλου ει α[. .
	]α.ατουειπ[		. .] θανατου. ειπ[. .
10	]μουνπατ.[	10	Πα]μουν, πατε[ρα ε-
	]εισημραηπο[		χεις η μ(ητε)ρα; η πο[σω(ν)
	]ετωνειδιδα[		ετων ει; διδα[ξο(ν).
	_____		_____]
	]οαγιοςπαμου[		ο αγιος Παμου[ν ει-
	]πενπεριτων[		πεν. περι των [ετων(ν)
15	]τωνοριθε.[	15	των οριθε[ν(ν)]

→

	]ποτουθ[		μοι υ]πο του θ[(εο)υ επε-
	]ωτακκ[^{καίενος} α]ετ[		ρ]ωτακ. κ[[α]] `και ενος ετ[ων ει-

	]ημερον·περι[		μι̇ς]ήμερον. περι
	]ησεπερωτης[		δε̇ τ]ής ἐπερωτής[ε-
20	]στωνεμωνγο[	20	ω]ς τῶν ἐμῶν γο-
	]ω̇. ουκεχωπ̄ρα[		νε̇]ων οὐκ ἔχω π(ατέ)ρα
	]·σαρκαειμητο[		κατ]ὰ σάρκα εἰ μὴ τὸ(ν)
	]μουιν̄χ[ν]·>—[		κ(ύριό)ν] μου Ἰ(ησοῦ)ν Χ(ριστό)[ν].
<hr/>			
	]ελλιανο. δε[		. . .]ελλιανος δε̇ [ὁ ἡ-
25	]·ωνειπεν.[	25	γε]μῶν εἶπεν .[. . .
	]εντηπολεις.[		. . .] ἐν τῇ πόλει σο[ν
	]ενησεῑκαιμη		εὐγ]ενῆς εἶ, καὶ μὴ
	]ωνπαρυβρις.[		θέλ]ων παρυβρίσ[ι
	]ευγενιανου[		τήν] εὐγένιάν σου
30	]·ησενθαδε[	30	. . .]. ης ἐνθάδε

5 ff. ‘. . . in front of the tribunal. I see that you deserve(?) nothing other than death. Speak, Pamoun: Is your father or mother still alive? How old are you? Tell.’ Saint Pamoun said: ‘You ask about the years which have been set for me by God: I am 21 this day. In answer to your question about my parents: I do not have a father according to the flesh [earthly father?]; I have only my Lord Jesus Christ.’ The *praeses* —ellianus(?) said . . . ‘you are a nobleman in your city, and being unwilling to bring shame on your nobility, . . .’

↓

1]ηση. ω[. After the first η traces of a left part of a circle belonging to c are visible. The second η is followed by a trace of the bottom of a vertical.

2-3]ριούται τη[|]ονομιας αὐτο[υ̇. There are various available verbs in -ριούν and nouns in -ονομία, which would make sense here. τεκμη]ριούται might have a place in the legal context. Moreover, it must be noticed that the iota adscript is not written (17, 26), and the text might have read τη̇ []ονομία̇ αὐτο[υ̇. The fact that the verb is in the third person, when it is the *praeses* who speaks, suggests that we should understand here that he is referring to a person or principle which is contrasted with Pamoun or his conduct (emphatic *εὐ* in the second clause).

4-5 ἐφ[. . .]. ησας *εὐ*. In the break at the end of 4, there should be space for two or three letters. At the start of 5, there are traces of the right-hand side of a circle, suitable for β, ο, or ρ. (In principle one should be suspicious of φ, for its size in the previous line, and in other texts of similar hands, suggests that here it would also be big.) A dark dot at the top level is also visible, but it is not part of a letter. An imaginary left-hand margin line goes against β (we would also expect to see the upper loop) and ο (it would also imply that the scribe made a false syllable-division) and favours ρ (although the trace is low for the loop if we compare it with other rhos in the text). If ρ is right, there are several verbs beginning φ or εφ that can suit the letters (e.g. φορεῖν, φρουρεῖν, φωρᾶν, φυρᾶν, ἐφημερεῖν). A tempting reading is ἐφ[λυά]ησας. This would suit the context, for, according to the governor, Pamoun would be wasting the court's time. The idea also occurs in the *Martyrdom of Carpus, Papyllus et Agathonice* (H. Musurillo, *The Acts of the Christian Martyrs* (Oxford 1972) 2.21) ὁ ἀνθύπατος εἶπεν· πολλὰ ἕσσας *εὐ* φλυαρῆσαι εἰς βλασφημίαν ἡγαγον τῶν θεῶν καὶ τῶν Σεβαστῶν.

5–6 ἔμπερ[οc]|θεν. For the problems of syllabification of sigma groups, argued over by grammarians and implemented differently by different scribes, see Mayser–Schmoll 222e; R. Janko, *Philodemus: On Poems* (Oxford 2000) 76; e.g. LIII 3721 ii 12–13.

6–7 The word δικαστήριον also occurs in the Coptic fragment of the *Passion of Pamoun* as well as in other Coptic martyrdoms (see e.g. W. Till, *Koptische Heiligen- und Märtyrerlegenden* (Roma 1935–6) ii 131.8; see also i 76.6; 95.26; G. Balestri, H. Hyvernat, *Acta Martyrum* (Paris 1907) i 27.2; 45.15; 66.15; 70.2; etc.). It does not refer to a court of justice in a particular locality nor does it reveal the person presiding over it. The term can simply indicate the official building for law courts and the court of justice of emperors and high officials. See P. J. Sijpesteijn in *Studi in onore di Edoardo Volterra* ii (1971) 327–31; A. Łukaszewicz, *Les Édifices publics dans les villes de l'Égypte romaine* (Warszawa 1986) 47–8.

7–9 ὁρῶ ὅτι οὐδ[ε]νὸς ἄλλου εἶ α[. | . .] θανάτου. A middle stop occurs before ὁρῶ. It should probably be understood as full stop rather than comma (see 9 and 18). It would be tempting to restore ἄ[ξι]ος | ἡ] θανάτου, but spacing seems to be against it. It is possible, however, that the scribe omitted η before θανάτου (for ἄ[ξι]ος] θανάτου suits the space well), influenced perhaps by the expression ἄξιος θανάτου: cf. e.g. *Ev. Lc.* 23.15; *Act. Apost.* 23.29.

9–10 εἶπ[.]. Since change of speaker is normally indicated by a *paragraphos*, we should assume that the speaker is still the governor. Thus we expect an imperative, but it is not clear if we should restore something else after this. εἰπὸν instead of εἰπέ would be possible (see Mandilaras, *The Verb* §317 [4]; cf. e.g. *Act. Pion.* 19.12 ὁ ἀνθύπατος εἶπεν· εἰπὸν, τίς ἐποίησεν;). In both cases the restoration seems rather short for the space (εἰπὸν might have been written with a dash for final ν). εἰπέ μοι might be too long, but not impossible if we allow for an irregular margin. ὦ is most likely to be omitted in this kind of literature.

Πα]μοῦν. There are several saints with this name in the context of passions. We know of a martyr Pamoun from P. Lond. Copt. I 344 (W. E. Crum, *Catalogue of the Coptic Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London 1905) 161), which contains part of the *Passion of Pamoun and his brother Sarmata* (two monks who had gone to live with Apa Mouse) at the hands of Armenius, *praeses* of the Thebaid. The text gives part of the dialogue between the governor and the two brothers, and includes some tortures inflicted upon Pamoun. But the lack of other references to these saints, and some common features between this fragment and the martyrdom of St Amoun of Terenouthis (H. G. Evelyn White, *The Monasteries of the Wadi 'N Natrún* (New York 1926–33) 105–13), led Crum to suggest a relation between the two passions. From a brief mention in the Copto-Arabic *Synaxary* by Mikahil, bishop of Atrib and Malij (c.1240), we know that Amoun (or Abamoun) was martyred in Alexandria together with a virgin called Theophila and others in the time of Arrianus, ‘governor of Antinoe’ (see H. Delehaye, *Les Martyrs d'Égypte* (Bruxelles 1923) 108). Coptic martyrologies commemorate Pamoun and Amoun on the same day (27 Abib).

Another martyr called Pamoun is mentioned in the Coptic *Passion of Shenoufe and His Brothers*. Pamoun and a certain Elias are introduced in the narrative unexpectedly, as secondary characters. (These two names are not found together in the *Synaxary*.) After meeting Shenoufe, who had been taken to Arsinoe, Pamoun and Elias confess their Christian faith and are put to death by Arrianus (see E. A. E. Reymond, J. W. B. Barns, *Four Martyrdoms from the Pierpont Morgan Coptic Codices* (Oxford 1973) 94–6).

An Apa Pamoun is mentioned with Apa Klaudios in the Coptic *Passion of Thecla* (Till, *Koptische Heiligen- und Märtyrerlegenden* ii 129.1, 130.17): Pamoun and Klaudios are described as singing a hymn and greeting the crowd gathered around them just before Thecla is interrogated by the governor Arrianus.

Was there only one martyr called Pamoun or several with the same name? In favour of only one martyr is the small concern for historical accuracy which the passions show and the fact that it is a common feature of this class of literature to make these passions interconnect through the

introduction of the same characters (Reymond–Barns, *Four Martyrdoms*, 3). However, different saints with the same name cannot be excluded, for the name Pamoun was a common one.

Other martyrs with similar names, like St Abamoun, or St Amoun from Subrah who was martyred with Agathon and others by Armenios, governor of a place close to Alexandria (Delehayé, *Les Martyrs d'Égypte*, 93), or one of the many saints called Ammon, such as the Apamon (Coptic Abamon) who was martyred by Ukios (Delehayé, *Les Martyrs d'Égypte*, 107), may or may not be identified with Pamoun. It is possible that there is only one person, and that the variety of names corresponds to different traditions.

Besides the references to Pamoun in the context of Passions, other Coptic sources mention saints with the same name (see A. Papaconstantinou, *Le Culte des saints en Égypte* (Paris 2001) 385, 396): a certain Pamoun is said to be commemorated on 21 Hathor in the calendar of Coptic feasts from Bawit (cf. J. Clédat, *Le Monastère et la nécropole de Baouît* (Le Caire 1904) 5); another Pamoun is listed among the saints in the Monastery of Jeremiah at Saqqara, while other references to this saint come from Esna and probably from Wadi Sarga (see C. Wietheger, *Das Jeremias-Kloster zu Saqqara* (Altenberge 1992) 234); and another Pamoun (or Amoun) is listed in the Oxyrhynchite Coptic Calendar having his feast in the month of Parmhotep or Parmute (W. E. Crum, 'Fragments of a Coptic Church Calendar', *ZNW* 37 (1938) 25, 28). In addition, in the life of Apa Cyrus (5th century), a monk of the desert whom Cyrus meets is called Apa Pamoun (E. A. Wallis Budge, *Coptic Martyrdoms in the Dialect of Upper Egypt* (London 1914) 130, 136).

10 πατ[ε]ρα. ε is hardly visible, but there are some traces of a curved stroke.

11 At the start of the line, two traces at top and bottom suggest x, like the one in 21 and 23. Then, between α and π, it seems that the scribe squeezed an η in an informal style. The colour of the ink looks similar to the rest of the text, and is different from the ink used by the corrector in 17.

12 διδα[ξ]ο(ν). This use of διδάσκω is also attested in a judicial context in X 1242 46 (= CPJ II 157 = H. Musurillo, *The Acts of the Pagan Martyrs* (Oxford 1954) no. VIII) τί αὐθάδως ἀποκρίνομαι, μέγιστε αὐτοκράτωρ; διδάξόν με. Cf. also I 33 v 10–11 (= Chrest. I 20 = CPJ II 159b = Musurillo, *The Acts of the Pagan Martyrs* no. XI) τοῦτο μ[ὲν εἰ ἀληθῶς οὐκ οἶ]δας, διδάξω σε. Although διδάξόν με is the most usual expression, there seems to be no room to restore the pronoun here. Moreover, διδάξον also occurs in an absolute sense (A. *Eu.* 601 πῶς δῆ; διδάξον; Gr. *Naz. Carm.* 757.13 τί δέ σοι πλέον εἰμί, διδάξον).

→

16 If ὀριθ[ε]ν[τ]ω(ν) in 15 is correct, ὑπό would refer to the one who fixes the years, i.e. God. Cf. *Act. Ap.* 10.42 οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ὀριθ[ε]ν[τ]ων χρόνων, see *Basilica* 10.3.43. For the restoration of the dative μοι in 16, see for instance *Const. App.* 8.46 πόσω μᾶλλον ὑμεῖς ὀφείλετε οὐδὲν τολμᾶν παρακρίνειν τῶν ὑμῶν κατὰ γνώμην Θεοῦ παρ' ἡμῶν ὀριθ[ε]ν[τ]ων.

17 The traces at the beginning of the line are characteristic of the junction of the last stroke of ω with the previous one. A similar expression to that restored here is found in several places in the Septuagint, e.g. *De.* 31.2 ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι ἐτῶν ἐγὼ εἰμι σήμερον. Cf. also the *Passion of Apa Lacaron* in Balestri–Hyvernat, *Acta Martyrum* i 2.8–10 πεχε πιρηγεμων ναφ χε εκχη ηεν ογηρ νρομπι αφερογω νχε απα λακαρων πεχαφ ναφ χε τχη ηεν ιδ νρομπι μφοογ ("The *praeses* said to him: "How old are you?" Apa Lacaron answered: "I am 14 years today.") The correction above the line is intended to supply a more readable version of κα. The same pale second hand also crossed out α of κα.

20–21 Questions about the parents of the accused occur in other passions, possibly to find out how the defendant has become Christian. See for instance *Act. Just.* 4.7–8 ποῦ εἶπεν οἱ γονεῖς σου;, where Rusticus asks the disciples of Justin about their Christian roots (see also G. Lanata, *Gli atti dei*

martiri come documenti processuali (Milano 1973) 123). Perhaps the question was more appropriate when the accused seemed to be very young; in the *Passion of St Paphnutios*, ten boys, sons of martyrs (one of them is said to be around 13 years old), are asked by Arrianus, after their confession of faith in the tribunal: ποῦ εἶεν οἱ γονεῖς ὑμῶν (n. 16). However, it is also possible that the question here is connected with Pamoun's εὐγένεια. See also next note.

22 The characteristic ending of the loop of α is visible before c. We should restore most probably κα[τ]ὰ α α ρκα. The expression is very frequent in the Pauline letters, used in contrast with a spiritual birth (κατὰ πνεῦμα) and a life according to it (see Bauer–Aland, *Wörterbuch* s.v. σάρξ; Lampe, *PGL* s.v. B). Here it must simply refer to Pamoun's human life, as opposed to his spiritual life 'in Christ' (cf. Bauer–Aland, *Wörterbuch* s.v. κατὰ II 5 b b: κ. σάρκα, 'fleischlich'); see a passage of the *Passion of Apa Lacaron* in Balestri–Hyvernat, *Acta Martyrum* i 2.4–8: ΝΙΜ ΠΕ ΠΕΚΡΑΝ ΔΕΡΟΥΩ ΝΧΕ ΠΙΑΓΙΟ̅Σ ΠΕΧΑϞ ΝΑϞ ΧΕ ΕΨΩΠ ΕΚΨΙΝΙ Ν̅ΣΑ ΠΑΡΑΝ ΕΤΑ ΝΑΙΟ† ΤΗΙϞ ΕΡΟΙ ΛΑΚΑΡΩΝ ΠΕ ΠΑΡΑΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΣΑΡΞ ΠΑΡΑΝ ΖΟϞ Ε†ΕΡΠΟΛΗΤΕΥΕΣΘΕ Ν̅ΗΗΤϞ ΠΕ ΦΗ ΕΤΑΓΘΑΖΜΕϞ ΞΕΝ ΠΧ̅ ΙΗΣ̅ (“What is your name?” The saint answered and said to him: “If you enquire after the name which my parents have given me, Lacaron is my name according to the flesh; however, my name in which I live is called in Jesus Christ.”); cf. also the *Passion of Thecla*, where Arrianus asked her, ΟΥΝΤΕ [ΕΙ]ΩΤ ΜΜΑΥ ΖΙ [ΜΑ]ΑΥ, ‘Do you have father or mother’, and she replied, ΣΕ ΟΥΝ[ΤΑΙ] ΜΠΑΕΙΩΤ Μ[Μ]ΑΥ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΕΙ[ΚΟ]ΣΜΟΣ (‘Yes, I [still] have my earthly father’); see Till, *Koptische Heiligen- und Märtyrerlegenden* ii 130.26–8. Thus, we should probably understand εἰ μὴ in the sense of ‘only’, as if it followed an implicit οὐδένα ἔχω: cf. e.g. P. Lond. V 1788.6 μετὰ τὸν Θεὸν οὐδένα ἔχω εἰ μὴ ἐέ.

24 . . .]ελλιανος. c is very damaged, but some traces of the curve are still visible. There are no attested names in Greek with this ending which suit the space. Names such as Κορελλιανός, Ἰκρελλιανός or Ὀφελλιανός are probably too wide, since the first letter is expected to be larger than the others after the change of speaker (see 13).

There are also two Coptic names of Christian persecutors which match this ending: ΚΕΛΛΙΑΝΟΣ and ΖΡΟΚΕΛΛΙΑΝΟΣ. ΚΕΛΛΙΑΝΟΣ is found in the martyrdom of St Macrobius (H. Hyvernat, *Les Actes des Martyrs de l'Égypte tirés des manuscrits coptes de la Bibliothèque Vaticane et du Musée Borgia* (Paris 1886) i 234), and is very likely to be the same as ΖΡΟΚΕ(Λ)ΛΙΑΝΟΣ (C. Schmidt, *Texte und Untersuchungen* NF V 4b (1901) 49–50), attested in the Coptic martyrdom of Apa Epime (Balestri–Hyvernat, *Acta Martyrum* i 148.26–7, 149.4, 152.8) and, with the spelling ΖΡΟΚΗΛΛΕΙΑΝΟΣ, in the *Passion of Shenoufe and His Brothers* (Reymond–Barnes, *Four Martyrdoms*, 7, 185 n. 7). In the *Passion of Epime* ΖΡΟΚΕΛΛΙΑΝΟΣ is mentioned as arriving in Alexandria during the prefecture of Culcianus to take his office as prefect. Then the *dux* of Alexandria, Armenius, delivers Epime to Rokellianos to be put to death. In the London fragment of the *Passion of Pamoun* the governor in charge of the trial is also Armenius. This Rokellianos is to be identified with Sossianus Hierocles (the Coptic version of Greek names does not follow clear patterns: Culcianus, for instance, is called ΚΛΙΚΙΑΝΟΣ and ΛΟΥΚΙΑΝΟΣ in Coptic sources), who succeeded Aelius Hyginus as prefect of Egypt in 310. Hierocles was a former governor of Bithynia and principal aide to Maximinus and, according to Lactantius (*Div. Inst.* 5.2.12; 5.11.15; *De mortibus persecutorum* 16.4), an inspirer of the Great Persecution; he is reported to be the author of some anti-Christian tracts. It is against him that Eusebius wrote his *Contra Hieroclem* (PG 22.797ff.). On Hierocles in general, see W. H. C. Frend, *Martyrdom and Persecution in the Early Church* (Grand Rapids, MI, ²1981) 497–8, 505–6; and T. D. Barnes, *HSCPh* 80 (1976) 239–52. Apart from the hagiographical sources (see C. Vandersleyen, *Chronologie des préfets* (Bruxelles 1962) 88–9) and the references given by Eusebius (*De martyribus Palaestinae* 4.15 and 5.2–3, and in the long version 14–15, *Anal. Boll.* 16 (1897) 122ff.) and Epiphanius (*Panarion* = *Adversus haereses* 68.1.4), we have mentions of Hierocles as prefect of Egypt in P. Cair. Isid. 69.23 (310); XLIII 3120 9 (5(?) April 310); P. Heid. IV 323 A, 3; B 7; C 8 (15–24 May 310) and P. Coll. Youtie II 79.13 (311).

Nevertheless, to assume a Greek spelling of the Coptic name for Sossianus Hierocles is not without difficulty. On the one hand, this spelling is not attested elsewhere. On the other, *Κ]ελλιανός* seems too short for the space, even if *κ* is larger than the other letters, while *Ποκ]ελλιανός* would be too wide, unless it projected into the margin. But then, assuming a projection into the margin, we might prefer to read an existing name such as *Κορελλιανός* (this name is attested for an *epistrategos* of Heptanomia, Minucius Corellianus, in office in 144–6).

25–6 At the beginning of 25 there is a trace characteristic of the final loop of *α* or *μ*. At the end of the same line there are traces of the lower part of a vertical. In principle it would suit the right-hand upright of *η* or *π*, or]*ι*. If we read *π*, a vocative *Π[αμ|οὐν]*, as in 10, would be possible, though the division would not follow the rules. However, the presence of *μή* (rather than *οὐ*) in 27, if we assume that the sentence continues, would be better explained if we read [*ε*]ι, followed e.g. by *μήν* or *οὐν* in the next line, and expecting to have the main clause in 30; but then the line would be very short.

28 *παρυβρίσα[ι]*. The verb *παρυβρίζω* is not very common. LSJ only cite *IGBulg* I(2); II; III; 1–2 & IV, document I(2) 346.6 (*Corpus Inscr. Regni Bosporani* (CIRB) 731.6–10; 3rd century AD?), where it has the meaning of ‘insult’; Lampe, *PGL* s.v., gives the meaning ‘show disrespect to’ (*Bas. reg. fus.* 3: 2.339B; PG 31.914C). Sophocles makes it a synonym to *ὕβριζω*.

29 *εὐγένειαν*, l. *εὐγένειαν*. Nobility is one of the patriotic motifs present in the ‘pagan acts’, and was taken from the novel (see Musurillo, *Acts of the Pagan Martyrs* X 56; XI B iii 3, iv 15f., v 3.7, and p. 253). It persists in Christian acts: see Balestri–Hyvernat, *Acta Martyrum* i 65.16; ii 24.14; 184.27; 193.10; etc.).

30 . . .] *ης ἐνθάδε*. At the start of the line there are two distinct traces of ink. The upper trace seems to be the end of a curve or part of a diagonal. At mid-height, where there is only a speck of ink, the papyrus is damaged and some of the fibres twisted. The traces suit *ης*, but *ε* followed by *ι* cannot strictly be ruled out. In any case, we may speculate that the governor might have said something on the lines of ‘If/Knowing that you are really a gentleman in your city, and not wishing to demean your gentlemanly character by betraying your faith, how is it that you are here before this court?’

JUAN CHAPA

II. NEW LITERARY TEXTS

4760. ANTONIUS DIOGENES

22 3B.15/D(16-17)d

fr. 2 5.6 × 6 cm

Second/third century
Plate I

Four fragments written in a practised semi-cursive hand. Notable letter-forms include: α in one movement, the apex looped; β tall, the two bowls of almost equal size; η joins the crossbar by a loop to the right-hand upright; μ in one movement, both apexes looped; π like η has its right side strongly curved; γ in one movement, looped at the base; ω in one movement, central apex looped. Ligature is common: e.g. in ας, the tail of alpha rises, loops and descends to form the lower curve of sigma, whose upper curve is added separately; in λϵ, similarly, the cross-bar and the upper arc of epsilon then added in two distinct movements. Many letters are of uniform height; others tend to float into the upper half of the line (α ο ω); φ projects well below the line, but ρ is curtailed. Some of these features would be typical of the second century AD; others, however, as Dr Obbink points out, suggest traits of the 'Chancery style' and its relations (note the expansive forms of Δ ζ χ), compare among dated documents e.g. P. Hamb. I 16 (AD 209; Seider, *Pal.* i no. 41), P. Flor. II 120 (AD 254; Norsa, *Scr. Doc.* t. XIX). On that basis 4760 might be assigned to the later second or earlier third century. See further LXVI 4505 introduction.

The writing runs with the fibres. Fr. 1 preserves a left-hand margin to 0.5 cm., fr. 2 and 3 a right-hand margin to 1 cm. There are no lectional signs in what survives; at some points it seems that the scribe left a wider space at word-end (which may also be clause-end). Elision effected but probably unmarked at fr. 2.9, if αλ]λ is recognized. Iota adscript nowhere visible; omitted in fr. 2.6 and probably fr. 2.4.

The name Paapis is clear in fr. 1.2; it is a name familiar from ordinary life, and from history and mythical history (a dedicator at Athens in the later fifth century BC, IG³ 341.6; Hesychius II 2, quoting Leuco fr. 1 KA; father of the sage Amenhotep, Josephus *contra Apionem* 1.244 = Manetho, FGrH 609 F 10), but also as that of the villainous magician in Antonius Diogenes' τὰ ὑπὲρ Θούλην ἄπιστα, and the content of fr. 2 shows obvious connections with that novel as summarized by Photius, *Bibl.* 166. For the testimonia and fragments see M. Fusillo, *Antonio Diogene: Le incredibili avventure al di là di Tule* (Palermo 1990); and most recently S. A. Stephens and J. J. Winkler, *Ancient Greek Novels: The Fragments* (Princeton 1995) 101-72.

Two published papyri very probably belong to this novel: XLII 3012 and PSI X 1177 (Fayum). 4760 adds a second copy from Oxyrhynchus. Since all three papyri are assigned 'second/third century', there would be no difficulty in dating

Antonius Diogenes to the early second century or before (see E. L. Bowie, *Ancient Narrative* 2 (2002) 58–60).

These new pieces are too small to contribute much individually, and I have failed to establish any joins or juxtapositions on the basis of the fibres or of the verso document. Fr. 1 offers line-beginnings, fr. 2 and 3 line-ends, but I do not see any continuities. Fr. 2 and 3 may have stood one above or below the other in the same column (fr. 2.10 note), but the fibres do not confirm this; a story could be constructed from fr. 2–4, ‘. . . Mantias [suggested] to the magistrates . . . to destroy . . . since he feared . . . and when they gave orders for this, all the bystanders cheered . . .’, but this is only one fantasy among the many possible.

Two solid elements might contribute to locating these pieces within the overall plot.

(i) The name Mantias, which may be recognized in fr. 2.9 (and fr. 4.6?). ‘Mantias’ does not appear elsewhere in connection with this novel, except as an occasional variant for ‘Mantinius’, a central figure and brother of the heroine Derkyllis, in Photius’ summary. It may be worth asking whether ‘Mantias’ was the original name, ‘Mantinius’ an error of Photius’ memory or of his copyists. See fr. 2.9 note.

(ii) The satchel and the box. In Photius, Mantinius and Derkyllis took the satchel of (magic) books and the box of (magic) herbs from Paapis at Leontini, and then moved on to Rhegium (110a17); they carried the satchel with them to Thule (nothing is said about the box), where in Book 24 Azoulis used the books to release them from their zombie state (110b23). In the meantime (in Book 23?) Throuskanos had killed Paapis with his sword. Our fr. 1 mentions Paapis, possibly but not certainly in the same context with fr. 2–4; there is not enough to show whether he is alive or dead. Our fr. 2 apparently mentions a satchel of books (4–5) and then a box (8), which we might assume to be the box of herbs; as Dr Obbink observes, the reference to ‘magistrates’ (fr. 2.10) and perhaps to crowds (fr. 4) suggests an urban setting. If Paapis is alive, these fragments might refer to the original theft of the satchel and the box (at Leontini), or to some otherwise unknown stage in their travels. If Paapis is dead, they might belong to Book 24, where certainly Azoulis made use of the books to reanimate Mantinius and his sister (scene set in Thule), who in turn travelled home to reanimate their parents (scene set at Tyre); Tyre would have magistrates, even if Thule did not. None of these speculations explains circumstantial references to ‘burning’ and perhaps a ‘stake’ (fr. 2.7, 4), and none can be confirmed from Photius’ summary. But then we cannot expect Photius to have recorded every episode, or the detail of any episode, in his boiling down of such an insistently sensational narrative.

On the back, remains of cursive in thick ink, across the fibres and upside down in relation to the front: payments in drachmas and (fr. 2.5) *υπολ*, i.e. *υπολ(ογ-)*?

fr. 1

· · ·
] κ.[
] πααπι.[
] ηξιουζ.[
 · · ·

1] , lower oblique of κ flattens out to join next letter above the line; then trace of ink to right near letter-tops 2] , lower curve and flat top, perhaps ς, though that is normally less flat, or possibly φ (less like the normal ο; not ω, which has the flat top only when ligatured)

fr. 2

· · · ·
] . . [
] . επα . [
] . ευωνκαι . . . [
] . ζ . αυρωτοδεπη [
 5] ωνβιβλιωνπερι [
] . αυτουτωτραχη [
] νσυνκαταφλεχθειη [
] βωτιονπαρεθη [
] . ομαντιας [
 10] ντοισαρχου [
] . [
 · · · ·

1] . .] , foot of vertical and lower part of oblique descending from left to right, joining upright at line-level (N?); curled foot at line-level (α, μ?) 2] , foot of oblique descending from left to right joins upright just above its foot (N; α1, λ1, χ1?) space (accidental?) before ε] , foot of upright? 3] , small horizontal trace on edge a little below line-level και . . . , third probably ς (the right side of the curve is not closed and the surface apparently undamaged); before that π . [] rather than τφ[] 4] . ζ . , first, flattened lower arc (α? ω?); third, foot of upright hooked to right (ι, ρ, τ?) 6] , ink level with letter-tops on edge, with faint trace at lower level 9] , end of flattened oblique descending from left to right, joining omicron at half-height (α, λ?) 11] . [, two dots, one above the other, in upper part of line (top of upright)

fr. 3

· · · ·
] διαφθειρ . . ν [
] . υμενοστα [
] . σημων [
 · · · ·

1 ρ. ., lower left-hand arc at line-level; foot of upright 2], ink on edge at half-height
 3], remains of oblique descending from left to right, junction at half-height (c.g. α)

fr. 4

. . .
]. ν. [
]. τουτοτω [
]. λευσαντω [
]. εβοησαν. [
 5]εστηκοτες [
]ρομ. [
]ων. [
]. . [
 . . .

1], lower part of upright, possible ink joining from left at mid-height], mid-section of upright 2], flattened oblique descending from left to right 3], horizontal ink joining λ just below the junction 4], upper and lower ink on edge, space between (probably c rather than η κ π χ) 6 ρ, less likely φ (no sign of the upright extending above the loop)], small left-hand arc on edge (α, ε, ο, φ?) 7], left-hand arc (ο, c?)

fr. 1

. . .
 κ. [
 Πάαπις [
 ηξιους. [
 . . .

2 Πάαπις[: -ις (or possibly -ι φ) suits the ink better than -ιο[ς. In literary sources, at least as printed, 'Paapis' shows a mixed declension (as often with such Egyptian names: Mayser 1.2.21-2): gen. -άπιδος in Leuco (Hesychius) and Photius but -άπιος in Manetho (Josephus), dative -άπιδι Photius, accusative -ιν Photius.

The accentuation of ΠΑΑΠΙΣ raises difficulties. Photius' MSS apparently write Παάπις, and Hesychius gives Παάπης: both seem to assume that the last syllable is long, whereas Leuco fr. 1 KA ap. Hesych. shows that in Attic at least the name scanned Παᾶπις. As a matter of theory, we can choose between an 'Egyptian' and a 'Greek' accentuation. (i) Παᾶπις (as e.g. in *Namenbuch*) would conform to a rule stated by U. Wilcken, *Actenstücke aus der königlichen Bank zu Theben in den Museen von Berlin, London, Paris* (Berlin 1886) 35-6, that Egyptian names (except for those whose Greek termination already carries an accent, as e.g. -ῆς, -εύς) should be accented on the stem-syllable which has a long vowel, and failing that on the stem-syllable which has a short vowel followed by two consonants (so Ἀμενῶφίς, Ψενοβάστις). This presumably reflects the basic point that in Egyptian the tone falls on the penultimate or on the last syllable, not earlier: so in the case of Paapis, the second syllable should carry the accent (Eg. *h p*, Coptic ΖΑΠΕ, see W. Brunsch, *Enchoria* 8.1 (1978) 66). (ii) Παάπις would conform to the general Greek rule that masculine proper names in -ις (gen. -εωσ/-ιοσ or -ιδος) retract the accent (see

H. W. Chandler, *Greek Accentuation* (Oxford 1881) §§ 642, 648); so the MSS of Greek authors normally write *Ἀμασις* and *Ὀσιρις*. There is an argument that Greeks, when they used Egyptian names, will have accented them according to their own convention: hence Wilcken, despite his own rule, decided later to print *Σέρασις* rather than *Σεράσις* (UPZ I p. 86 n. 5). W. Clarysse, *ZPE* 119 (1997) 177–84, recommends this practice, and I print *Πάσις* accordingly.

2–3 *Πάσις . . . ἡξίου, Πάσι . . . ἡξίου*? But of course name and verb may not belong to the same clause.

fr. 2

	
] . . [
		] . επα . [
		] . ευων και π . ς
5	<i>ρίδιον</i>	] . ς . αυρω τὸ δὲ πη-]ων βιβλίων περι] . αυτου τῷ τραχη-]ν συνκαταφλεχθείη κι]βώτιον παρεθη] . ὁ Μαντίας]ν τοῖς ἀρχου-]. [
10		
	

3 *και π . ς*. A problem. Perhaps *και πρ[ο]ς*, but the space is very narrow for omicron (crowding at the end of a long line?); perhaps *και προ*, but the final circular shape seems open at the lower right, with no sign of damage to the surface. *πρ[ο]ς* (or *πρ[ο]λ[ι]ς*) might combine with *σταυρω* in the next line: Xen. Eph. 4.2.1 *προσαρτῆσαι σταυρω* (other possible verbs: *προσδέω* D. C. 49.22.6, *προσηγλώω* D. S. 2.18.2, etc.).

4 *ταύρω, σταυρω* (τῷ σταυρω?) seem possible interpretations of the damaged letters.

4–8 Photius' summary contains two relevant passages. (a) 110a 17 (Deinias' report of Derkyllis' report) . . . ἔπειτα ὡς λαβόντες Μαντινίας καὶ Δερκυλλίς ἐκ Λεοντίνων τὸ Παάπιδος πηρίδιον μετὰ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ βιβλίων καὶ τῶν βοτανῶν τὸ κιβώτιον ἀπαίρουσιν εἰς Ῥήγιον . . . (b) 110b 23 (Deinias' report of Azouli's report) . . . ὡς κατανοήσοι τῆς γοητείας τὸν τρόπον, καθ' ὃν Παάσις ἐγοήτευσε Δερκυλλίδα καὶ Μαντινίαν νυκτὶ μὲν ζῶντας ἐν ἡμέρᾳ δὲ νεκροὺς εἶναι, καὶ ὡς ἀπήλλαξεν αὐτοὺς τοῦ πάθους, τὸν τε τρόπον τῆς τιμωρίας ταύτης καὶ δὴ καὶ τῆς ἰάσεως ἐκ τοῦ πηριδίου ἀνευρών τοῦ Παάπιδος, ὃ συνεπεφέροντο Μαντινίας καὶ Δερκυλλίς . . . (a) stands nearly half-way through the summary; (b) is stated to belong in Book 24, the last book, and not long before (Book 23?) came the full account of how Paapis reduced Mantinias and Derkyllis to the zombie state and how Throuskanos attacked and killed him with a sword (110b 26). (b) shows that Mantinias and Derkyllis took the *πηρίδιον* with them throughout their intervening travels; nothing is said about the fate of the box of (magic) herbs. In the papyrus *κιβώτιον* (8) may well refer to this box, since it is juxtaposed with *πη|[ρίδιον]*. On the other hand, there is also the cypress-wood *κιβώτιον* in which the whole narrative was supposedly preserved until Alexander's men rediscovered it: it contained *τὰς κυπαριττίνους δέλτους, ἃς (ὡς εἶοικε) κατέθηκε Δερκυλλίς κατὰ τὰς ἐντολάς Δεινίου* (111b 23).

This is clearly the background; the difficulty lies in reconstructing the detail. We do not know

the line-length: at least 20 letters with the minimum restoration of 4–5 τὸ δὲ πη[[ρίδιον τ]ῶν βιβλίων περι|, at least 24 if we follow Photius in writing μετὰ τ]ῶν. We do not know who narrated this passage (or reported its narration), and whether it included direct speech, and whether it employed the third or the first person. The clues are: (i) *εταυρῶ*, if the reading is correct; that might relate to ‘burned up’ (7)—burned at the stake? For the procedure Mommsen, *Römisches Strafrecht* 923 refers to the Martyrdoms of St Polycarp and St Pionios, who were respectively tied and nailed to a cross before being burned. (ii) τῶ τραχή[[λω? ‘Neck’ and ‘satchel’ may go together: δύο πήρας ἐξήμμεθα τοῦ τραχήλου Aesop ap. Gal. 5.6.4. In that case, the dative suggests a satchel on someone’s neck, not taken off it. (iii) 6 αὐτου (if that is the right articulation; the preceding traces do not suggest]εαυτου) might represent αὐτοῦ or αὐτοῦ: ‘his (his own) neck’? whose? (iv) 7 συνκαταφλεχθείη (or -φλεχθείη)[[σαν or the like). καταφλέγειν can refer to the burning of persons (dead or alive) or of things (ships, buildings, etc.). συν- implies that two items may be burned together. The optative could stand by itself, or form part of a subordinate clause (e.g. one introduced by ἵνα (μή), though there would not be room for this in 7 if the standard line ran to only 20 letters). (v) 8 παρεθη might represent παρέθη ‘was left aside’, or παρέθη[[κ- ‘put next to’ (Aristoph. *Plut.* 710–11 *θυεῖδιον / παρέθηκε . . . καὶ κιβώτιον*), and much else.

Two possibilities among many: X is tied to a stake and to be burned (dead or alive), and the satchel is with him; Y (i) leaves the satchel round X’s neck so that it can burn with him OR (ii) puts the satchel round his own neck so that it should not burn with X. (i) implies e.g. τὸ δὲ πη[[ρίδιον τ]ῶν βιβλίων περι[[κείμενο]ν αὐτοῦ τῶ τραχή[[λω. (ii) implies e.g. τὸ δὲ πη[[ρίδιον τ]ῶν βιβλίων περι[[αψάμενο]ς αὐτοῦ τῶ τραχή[[λω.

Who then is X? Paapis? Certainly he owned the satchel. In the event he died by stabbing, and the books survived his death. However, Photius’ summary does not explain how exactly Mantinias and Derkyllis ‘obtained’ (λαβόντες) the satchel and the box from him at Leontini: was Paapis arrested by the magistrates (10), and condemned to death, and therefore unable to protect his property? Of course he will subsequently have escaped. Roman imperial law at least provided for the burning of magicians and of their books: see *FIRA* II 409–10 (‘Pauli Sententiae’ 5.23.17–18), 580–1 (Letter of Diocletian and Maximian 6) (I owe the references to Dr Simon Price), W. Speyer, *Büchervernichtung* (Stuttgart 1981) 33–4, 130–4 (book-burnings in the Christian period).

9 First trace suggests lambda: ἀλλ’λ’?

Μαντίας. The name recurs in **4761** below. In itself it is not remarkable; but it is not, so far as I see, attested in literature or in the fragments of the Greek Novel. *Μαντινίας*, on the other hand, is a central figure in the *Incredible Things* as summarized by Photius (he has not appeared as yet in any actual fragment). The name occurs thirteen times in the summary. In three instances the MSS divide: 110b 13 *Μαντινίου* A⁵: *Μαντίου* AM; 110b 29 *Μαντινίας* A⁵M: *Μαντίας* A; 111b 12 *Μαντεινίου* M: *Μαντίου* A. Editors have naturally chosen to print Mantinias in all places; and the shorter form could be accounted for by parablepsy (although A offers it three times). It may now be worth asking whether Antonius Diogenes actually wrote Mantias throughout.

10]ν τοῖς ἀρχου- seems the likeliest articulation and suggests ἄρχου[[ειν]. The reference may be to magistrates, as e.g. at Ach. Tat. 3.19.1 (village), 8.14.6ff. (city).

I have considered whether fr. 3 joins directly below this, so that the single final trace in line 11 represents the top right of the final nu in fr. 3.1. If so, the sense might be: ἐκέλευε]ν τοῖς ἀρχου[[ειν ---] διαφθεῖρειν [[---, ‘Mantias instructed the magistrates . . . to destroy . . .’. Against this: (i) The fibres of the verso do not confirm a join (Dr Coles thinks that fr. 3 might indeed stand below fr. 2, but not directly); (ii) The text produced carries no great conviction (Dr Gonis notes that we would expect διαφθεῖραι, if the infinitive depended on a verb like ἐκέλευε]ν).

fr. 3

· · ·
] διαφθείρειν
] υμενοστα
] .σημων
 · · ·

2 The first trace would allow a small ο (as in fr. 4.5 κοστ).

3 If]αc is read, articulations include ἀσήμων (δι]ασήμων, παρ]ασήμων) and -αc ἡμῶν.

fr. 4

· · ·
] .ν.[
] .τουτοτω[
] .λευσαντω[
] .εβοησαν .[
 5]εστηκοτες[
]ρομ .[
]ων .[
] . .[
 · · ·

3 The initial trace would suit ε, but probably not γ. Something on the pattern τοῦτο τῶ[ν ἀρχόντων (ἐπι)κ]ελευσάντω[ν (= 18 (21) letters) --- πάντε]ς ἐβόησαν --- (οἱ περι)έστηκότες? Cf. ἐπευφήμησεν τὸ πλῆθος τῶν περιεστηκότων Charit. 3.8.5.

4 The first trace probably c (not ἀ]γ-).

6 One possible articulation: -]ρ ὁ Μα[ντίας.

P. J. PARSONS

4761. NOVEL (ANTONIUS DIOGENES?)

17 2B.59/F(a)

11.2 × 15.4 cm

Third century
Plate IV

The top of a column, and some line-ends from the one before; at the extreme right initial traces from two lines of a third column. The upper margin survives to 3.3 cm; intercolumnium 1.25–1.5 cm. Writing parallel with the fibres, back blank. Col. ii (line-beginnings and also line-ends in so far as they can be reconstructed) slopes leftward towards its foot; the same is true of the line-ends in col. i.

The hand is a medium-sized, bold, confident example of the 'Severe Style', sloping to the right and written with a well-loaded pen. By comparison with the

very few objectively dated examples of this manner, I should assign **4761** to the later phase of its development, i.e. to the third century or possibly the early fourth.

The scribe leaves occasional spaces between words; he writes inorganic diaeresis on iota and upsilon (ii 10, 11, 13, ?24), but leaves elision unmarked (ii 13, 14, ?17, 22; *scriptio plena* 3, 4, 7, ?14, ?17, 21). Iota adscript is omitted in the two words that require it (ii 3). Punctuation by space and high stop (ii 5).

The continuous text shows a prose narrative of sensational content, written with some literary pretension. The author uses occasional Ionisms (ii 4 εἰς for εἶ, 11 ξυν-, alongside 16 -ιαικ, 19 οὖν, 21 ἡμέραν); contrast the systematic Ionicists discussed by J. L. Lightfoot, *Lucian: On the Syrian Goddess* (Oxford 2003) 91–9. At the same time he admits some level of hiatus. If we ignore hiatus (which may be interpreted as synzesis or crasis) after the article (ii 3, 17) and the particle δὴ (ii 11), and at clause-end (ii 12), we have μόνω ἔσται ii 3, παρθένου οὐδ' αὐταὶ ἀνίεσαν ii 13, νύκτα ἐπόμεναι ἠνώχλου ii 22. If we think of attributing this piece to Antonius Diogenes (below), we have to consider whether this degree of licence is greater than that in the two secure fragments of Antonius' actual text, PSI 1177 and XLII **3012** (S. A. Stephens and J. J. Winkler, *Ancient Greek Novels: The Fragments* (Princeton 1995) 148–57). I have the impression that there is no significant difference, whereas *Herpyllis* (see below) is stricter. However, the samples are small, and the questions complex, both in regard to categories of hiatus (see M. D. Reeve, *CQ* 21 (1971) 514–39) and in regard to literary context—must an author follow a consistent policy throughout, or might a great set piece (as in *Herpyllis*) require more polish than a rapid narrative?

The plot could be reconstructed as follows:

ii 1–5 End of a speech, addressed by X to a male, Y; X contrasts Y with a male group Z; Y will not be able to return home (but Z will?). In 5 someone (X? Y?) gave orders to the παῖδες (slaves? children? youths?), who might be identified with Z, to flee. In 11–12 this group presses on. Another group, αἱ παρθένου, show an equal turn of speed in pursuit, incited by their escape, and press close on their heels. But (22) Mantias escapes by various devious paths and undetected arrives at . . . It would be economical (but not necessary) to identify Mantias with Y (himself a παῖς, 4), and guess the outline to be: a group of youths seek to escape from a distant place and return home; they flee, closely pursued by a group of girls; Mantias (by himself? or leading the youths?) reaches safety . . . In the novelistic context, we could guess further that the youths had on their wanderings (cf. ii 4–5) arrived at a society of women (ii 2), from which their only escape lay in flight.

Amazonian societies will have occurred in more than one novel: the Amazons themselves in *Calligone*, the Artabrian women in Antonius Diogenes. The name Mantias offers a more concrete clue. It does not occur in any extant novel, nor in the fragmentary novels collected by Stephens and Winkler. It does occur in **4760** above, small fragments but confidently assignable to Antonius Diogenes, τὰ ὑπὲρ

Θούλην ἄπιστα; it is indeed possible that ‘Mantias’ there is the correct name of the central figure normally known as ‘Mantias’. Should we then assign **4761** to that same novel? Photios’ summary of it mentions an episode that might be relevant: Derkyllis’ travels (somewhat later than Book 13) took her to the Artabroi (in the northwest of Spain), ‘where the women make war and the men keep house and look after women’s work’ (*Bibl.* 109b34ff.). However, her male companions on this journey were Keryllos and Astraios (of whom Keryllos certainly did not return home, since he was cut to pieces after further miraculous escapes); nothing is said of a Mantias, and her brother ‘Mantias’ was off on travels of his own. On the other hand, we cannot expect the summary to touch every detail of an original twenty-four books long.

Our new text finds room, within its twenty-four lines, for one or even two ponderous commonplaces (ii 16–19, perhaps 8–11). It may be worth noting something similar in *Herpyllis* ii 5–7 (P. Dubl. C3, Stephens and Winkler 158–72). This sensational narrative too has been assigned to Antonius Diogenes, although the only concrete evidence lies in the damaged proper name . . . [.] υλλιδος (ii 21–2). The first editor read this as Herpyllis; others have tried to read the name of Derkyllis, Antonius’ heroine. Stephens and Winkler (p. 159 n. 4) think this ‘just possible’; M. P. López Martínez, *Fragmentos papiáceos de novela griega* (Alicante 1994) 107–20, doubtfully retains the original reading; R. Kussl, *Papyrusfragmente griechischer Romane* (Tübingen 1991) 129 n. 99, on the basis of a new photograph, concludes that Derkyllis cannot be recognized here, since (a) the spacing does not allow ΔΕΡ and (b) the traces before υλλιδος strongly suggest π. Dr Obbink has recently re-examined the original, and agrees that δε[ρ]|κυλλιδος cannot be read.

col. i		col. ii		col. iii
]ρασ		βουλοι . [. . .] αγαπωενανεντα . [
]επι		θαμενοντες παραταις γυναιξιν [
] .		αυτωδεσπαροσμονωεσταιηοικα []		[
] .		δεοδωσασθενεσγαρεισκαιπαισπλα		[
]ρος	5	ν . . . νος' εκελευεδηκαιτοισπαι		[
] .		. . . . . υγειναμετασρεπτεικαι		[
]δα		αυ . [ε.6] . . . ιδεεπειθοντο		[
]γαι		. . . [ε.8] λειονειδ . τα		[
]ου		. . . [.] α . [. . . .] ινδυνουτινος		[
] .	10	προσιοντο . . [. .] θομενοντ . υτα		[
] .		ξυ . βουλευειν . [] μενδηυ . . γον		. [
] .		τησοδουωσταχουσειχοναιδ . []		. [
]γου		. . ρθενοιουδαυταιανιες . ν [
]ο		λεδιωκον . . [. . .] αυτασεξοις [

]	15	σηστητων[.] [.]δωνφυγης.[
].ς		φυ.[.] .αρενταισεπιθυμιας.[
]		[.] . . . ντοαποδιδρασκον.[
]		ευθ . ημφθενευκατα[
]		τονπολλακ[.]]μενουνηπαρ.[
]	20	γονηλθονε.[.] .νδιωκους . .[
]		ημερανοληνκαιινυκταεπομ.[
]		.αιηνωχλουναλλομαντια[
]		αλλας . ιαλ .ασκολιασδ[
]		. .εξ . .αγω . .αθεναφι[
]	25]. [. . .] [

col. i 4], upright

col. ii 1 .[, probably ν , although the first stroke slopes more than usual (λ normally has a substantial projection at the apex; in μ the angle between the first stroke and the descending oblique is narrower) .[, lower part of descender touching letters in line below (ρ , γ ; too closely spaced for ϕ) 3 $\delta\epsilon$, of ϵ the lower left corner and parts of the cross-bar 5 ν . . . , 3rd is right-hand end of horizontal at half-height 6, first and second, exiguous traces at top-level; third, trace of upright at mid-level; fourth, perhaps parts of a flattened horizontal arc at mid-height with traces of vertical above (bowl of ϕ , with specks of its top upright?); fifth, horizontal trace at mid-level (cross-bar of ϵ ?) 7 .[, point on edge a little below top of γ ? 8 . . .[, first, top and back of ϵ or c ?; second, high trace sloping down from left to right (λ Δ λ ?); last, point on edge at half-height δ ., triangular corner at line-level 9 α .[, μ or ν 10 . . .[, hooked base of ϵ or c ; base of flattened oblique descending from right to left (λ , λ , α , λ) τ ., top of oblique sloping down from left to right? 11 $\xi\nu$., μ or ν ν .[, trace at line-level, perhaps foot of upright, but lower left-hand corner of ϵ or \circ not excluded . . γ , left part of τ or π , point of ink just above letter-top level 12 δ .[, foot of upright element, perhaps hooked to right 14 . . .[, upright with horizontal extending leftwards at top, apparent remains of ink attached below left-hand end of horizontal and perhaps further ink at line-level below that (i.e. top and foot of upright?); then top of oblique as of λ Δ λ , and below it, under the line, tip of left-hand oblique (foot of λ , λ) 15 .[, foot and top of oblique rising from left to right 16 $\phi\nu$., upright and specks to right .[, short horizontal trace at upper level 17] , upper two-thirds of upright, no visible connections; upright, diagonal descending left to right from top, top of right upright (μ ?); point on edge near letter-height and speck below; upright, apparently free-standing 22 $\alpha\iota$, parts of two uprights 24 ω . . . , upright and descending oblique, only ν possible?; horizontal trace level with letter-tops; point level with letter-tops

col. ii

βουλοι . [. . .] ἀγαπῶεν ἂν ἐνταῦ-
θα μένοντες παρὰ ταῖς γυναῖξίν,
αὐτῷ δὲ ἄπορος μόνω ἔσται ἡ οἴκα-
δε ὁδός. ἀσθενὲς γάρ εἰς καὶ παῖς πλα-

5 νώμενος. ἐκέλευε δὴ καὶ τοῖς παι-
 ρῶν φεύγειν ἀμεταστρεπτεῖ καὶ
 αυ. [c.6] . . οἱ δὲ ἐπέειθοντο
 . . . [c.7 π]λείον εἰδότα
 . . . [.] α. [. . . κ]ινδύνου τινὸς
 10 προσιόντος α[ί]θόμενον ταῦτα
 ξυβουλεύειν. ο[ί] μὲν δὴ ὑπήγον
 τῆς ὁδοῦ ὡς τάχους εἶχον, αἱ δὲ [
 παρθένου οὐδ' αὐταὶ ἀνίεσαν [ἀλ-
 λ' ἐδίωκον, π. [. . .] αὐτὰς ἐξοικ[τρώ-
 15 ρης τῆς τῶν [π]α[ί]δων φυγῆς . [
 φυ. [.] γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις . [
 [. . .] . . . ν τὸ ἀποδιδράσκον, τ[ὸ δὲ
 εὐθὺ λημφθὲν εὐκατα[φρόνη-
 τον. πολλάκ[ις] μὲν οὖν παρ' ὁ[λί-
 20 γον ἦλθον ἐλ[ε]ῖν, διώκουσαι [δὲ
 ἡμέραν ὅλην καὶ νύκτα ἐπόμει-
 ναι ἠνώχλουν. ἀλλ' ὁ Μαντία[ς
 ἄλλας καὶ ἄλλας σκολιάς ὁδ[οὺς
 ὑπεξαγαγὼν ἔλαθεν αφί[
 25] . [. . .] . . . [

“... they would be content (pleased?) to remain here with the women. Only for (you your?)self will the road home be impossible, for you are a weak thing and a wandering boy.” So he (she?) gave orders to the boys too to flee without turning back and . . . They obeyed . . . who (acc. sing.) has superior knowledge, . . . when he (acc. sing.) becomes aware of danger approaching . . . should give this advice. So then they advanced on the road with all the speed they possessed, but the girls themselves did not give up either but continued to pursue, the boys’ flight goading them on [again?]. For it is natural in the desires [that] what runs away [enjoys high esteem?], whereas something which is possessed at once is easily despised. Now, often they came close to catching them, and they harassed them, pursuing them the whole day, and following them by night. But Mantias, making his way (leading them?) out secretly by one devious road and another, arrived undetected . . .’

1 βουλοι [. . .]. Perhaps βούλοι[το (though e.g. -βουλοι could be considered); then space for two or three letters (more if -το was elided). Then ἀγαπῶεν or possibly a compound. E.g. -[το καί], ‘if they wanted and would be content . . .’; or the negative ‘[They could return home] if they wanted and would not be content . . .’ (but the space is too narrow for -[το μηδ’]. But it may be tempting to take the first optative as protasis, ἀγαπῶεν ἂν as apodosis; and something depends on the factual background—‘staying with the women’ may be opposed to ‘going home’, which to judge from 3 is a possibility open to the male group referred to, though not to the individual addressed.

3 αὐτῶ: ‘me myself’? ‘you yourself’? The next sentence favours the second.

4 εἶς: the Homeric/Ionic (Herodotus, Herondas) form, a literary flourish (it does not appear in the documentary papyri, which stick to Attic/Koine εἷ).

παῖς, 5–6 παιζίβ, 15 [π]α[ί]δων. In principle, the word might mean ‘child’ or ‘slave’ (thus it has been debated whether in Photius’ summary of Antonius Diogenes, 109a, Δεινίας . . . cὺν τῷ παιδὶ Δημόχάρη, Demochares was the ‘son’ or the ‘servant’ of Deinias); and the former meaning might extend to ‘young man’, at least in the mouth of an older person, especially family (see E. Dickey, *Greek Forms of Address* (Oxford 1996) 266). So Hydaspes addresses his 17-year old nephew as παῖ, Heliod. 10.24.1 (contrast *Ninos* A ii 20–4, where the 17-year old Ninos regrets his condition as παῖς νήπιος).

πλανώμενος. This reading seems inevitable; the first trace might belong to the left-hand tip of omega, and the third to the cross-bar of epsilon. But I should not easily have recognized the scattered ink in the middle as mu. There is an odd coincidence with LXX *Prov.* 29.15 πλῆγαὶ καὶ ἔλεγχοι διδάσκει σοφίαν, παῖς δὲ πλανώμενος αἰσχύνει γονεῖς αὐτοῦ. There, however, the verb is metaphorical, ‘straying from the right path’; here presumably literal, ‘a lost child’. Of course πλάνη is the word often used by Photius to refer to the travels of Antonius’ characters.

1–5 Who has been speaking? and who is narrating? Dr Obbink observes that we have two clues. The speaker of 1–5 is older than his (her) interlocutor (hence 4 παῖς), and adopts the portentous tone of a prophet or oracle. The narrator (5 ff.) continues the reference to παῖδες: so he (she) too is an older person? One candidate for prophet would be the god-like Pythagorean Astraios, whom Photius has on the scene just before and just after the episode of the Artabroi; later his comrade Zamolxis issues an oracle to Derkyllis and Mantinias that they are destined to go to Thule, and eventually also to see their homeland again (110a).

6 φεύγειν ἀμεταστρεπτί is a common pairing in Greek prose of the Roman period (classical antecedents Plato *Leg.* 854C, Xen. *Symp.* 4.50); in the novel, Ach. Tat. 3.15.6 φεύγουσιν ἀμεταστρεπτί.

6–7 καὶ αὐ. [We might consider an adverb paired with ἀμεταστρεπτί; TLG offers no relevant pairing, but αὐθωρί (-ρεῖ), -ρόν might suit the situation, and the form in -ρεῖ and still more the form in -ρόν might fill the lacuna, allowing for a punctuation space before οἱ δε (before φ there are three specks of ink, which might represent two letters or one letter and a following high stop). The trace after αὐ does not specially suggest ϑ, but does not exclude it. However, we have still to explain καί in καὶ τοῖς παιζίβ. If it means ‘also’, then another party is involved in the flight. A different group? But no other group appears in the immediate context, except the ‘girls’ (12 f.) who do not run but pursue. A different individual? That might be the giver of the order, who in turn might be identical with the ‘boy’ addressed in 1–5, who in turn might be identical with the Mantias found escaping (independently? or with them?) in 22. In that case, something like καὶ αὐτ[ὸς ἔφυγ]εν? (This would leave no ink for a high stop.)

8–11 Presumably a new sentence, with π]λεῖον εἰδότα as the connection, ‘The boys accepted the order to flee, as the advice of someone with superior knowledge.’ Was it specific, ‘For they recognized that someone with superior knowledge was giving this advice?’ or a generality, ‘When some one of superior knowledge perceives danger approaching, it behoves him to give this advice?’ With the latter, ταῦτα is perhaps more difficult to explain, and the connection with the context is more devious. If the former, consider (i) ἐδό[κουν γὰρ π]λεῖον εἰδότα | --- καὶ κ]ινδύνου; (ii) ἐδό[κουν γὰρ π]λεῖον εἰδότα | τ[ὸ]ν [Μ]αυ[τίαν κ]ινδύνου. (i) would require a pronoun or equivalent at the beginning of 9, but I can think of nothing suitable to the traces; it has the advantage of coordinating the two participles. (ii) has the corresponding disadvantage, and in any case, although]αυ[is a possible reading, the suggested supplement is a little too short at the end and a little too long at the beginning (and not obviously reconcilable with the traces there).

11 ξυμ- rather than ξυμ-, I think, but the surface is disturbed.

12 αἱ δέ [: there would be space for c.2 more letters (say, δέ [δῆ], or δ’ ο[ῦν]; the trace would not suit δ’ ἄ[ρα], but perhaps the cross-bar of epsilon was extended to span the gap. The scribe may have

hesitated to continue with the next syllable, *παρ*, since that would have projected somewhat to the right of the standard (admittedly rather irregular) line-end.

14 π. [. . .]: the first letter contained an upright with a horizontal extending leftwards at its top; the space would allow either π or τ, but apparent remains of ink attached below the left-hand end of the horizontal, and perhaps at line-level below that, favour π (I owe the reading to Dr Coles). Then the apex and lower left of α or λ. πά[νυ] (Coles) would give sense, but may be a little short. πά[λιν] (Obbink) would meet this difficulty, and as he notes adds an element to the sense—the girls had already felt desire (16), but the attempted escape inflamed it again.

14–15 ἐξοικ[τρῶν] | κησ perhaps suits the space better than the alternative form ἐξοικ[τρού] | κησ, but it is not a simple judgment since the line-ends are so irregular.

15 (or 16?)–19 Presumably a riff on the proverbial τὰ φεύγοντα διώκειν. Similar contrasts between the available and the fugitive in Hes. fr. 61, Call. *Ep.* 31 Pf., Theoc. 11.75; a close verbal parallel in Ovid, *Am.* 2.9.9 *venator sequitur fugientia, capta relinquit*. In Callimachus and Ovid the image is that of the hunter; in them and in Theocritus the context is erotic, and in our passage too the hot pursuit might have amorous aims (16 ἐπιθυμίασ).

The general sense should be ‘The fugitive is prized; the captive is despised’. This contrast could have been expressed by two symmetrical clauses, i.e. with an adjective before τὸ ἀποδιδράσκον corresponding (chiastically) to εὐκατα[φρόνη]τον; in addition there might be μέν (assuming that δέ is rightly supplied in 17) or a verb like ἔστιν or γίγνεται. A verb might be concealed in the traces at the beginning of 16 (with the end of 15?) or 17 (with the end of 16?); in 17 μέν cannot be read before τὸ ἀποδιδράσκον. However, it is entirely possible that the contrasting clauses were not symmetrical in structure.

15 φυγησ .[: the trace (an oblique rising from left to right) is clear, with space after the break for one or two more letters. If 14–15 are rightly reconstructed, no obvious grammatical element is missing; ἀ[εί] could be considered, but hardly if the phrase had already begun with another adverb. If then these letters belong with the next line, and if there γάρ is correctly recognized, the complex .[1–2]|φν .[.] should represent a single word, unless its first part contained a prepositive or a particle in combination with γάρ (but ἀ[λλά] seems too long). The first trace, at line-level, looks like the foot of an oblique rising from left to right; not enough survives to show whether it was an oblique as such, or an upright of the type whose foot is bent or tapered to the left. φ seems likely, since we see the top of an upright reaching almost to the line above (ψ might offer the same, but no example survives); then remains of a V-shaped top; then of an upright and perhaps to its right further traces in the lower part of the line.

I have tried various readings. (i) φύς[ει] is unsatisfactory, if only because it leaves the problem of 15 end. (ii) ἀ[να]|φύς[ι], which would suggest a quite different construction, ‘What tries to escape produces in the desires an active interest.’ This has its own difficulties: [ι] may be short for the space, and I have not thought of a suitable noun to fit the traces before τὸ ἀποδιδράσκον. In any case, neither ς nor ε really suits the ink; one would expect more of a slope to the right, and some trace of the cap. (iii) π[ε]|φυσ[ε]. This assumes that the oblique trace in 15 could represent the angled serif on the first upright (itself leaning gently to the right) of π; after φν the traces would suit the upright and lower branch of κ.

A related problem lies in 16–17 .[. . .]|[. . .] . . . ν. The first trace, level with the letter-tops, is a short horizontal curving down at the beginning (suitable for the top of ε). Of 17 [. . .] nothing survives, space for two narrow letters or one wider; then, upper two-thirds of upright, no visible connections; concave upright, connected at top to diagonal descending left to right from top, top of right upright (μ? ν?); point on edge near letter-height and speck below; upright, apparently free-standing. The final ν seems relatively certain (not α). On this basis I have tried three possibilities. (i) A verb. (a) The upright before ν looks free-standing, i.e. ι, which suggests ε[ι]τν. But the traces thus read as ε

look much more like μ (or ν ?). (b) If the upright before ν belongs to a wider letter, we could consider $\eta\nu$. Both these would exclude $\pi[\epsilon]|\phi\nu\kappa[\epsilon]$ above. (ii) An adjective ending in $-ον$. Yet the trace looks very unlike omicron. (iii) $\eta\mu\epsilon\hat{\iota}\nu$, preceded then by a (short) adjective corresponding to $\epsilon\hat{\upsilon}\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\phi[\rho\acute{o}\nu\eta]\tau\omicron\nu$. Yet η looks very unlikely (you would expect to see the cross-bar). (i)–(iii) would allow syntactic symmetry between the two clauses. Without symmetry we could consider (iv) an infinitive in $-\epsilon\iota\nu$, governed as often by $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\phi\nu\kappa\epsilon$. I am tempted by $\epsilon[\hat{\upsilon}\delta\omicron]||[\kappa]|\mu\epsilon\hat{\iota}\nu$, ‘What runs away is of a nature to enjoy high esteem in our desires . . .’. [$\nu\delta\omicron$] looks long for the space, but the line-ends are very irregular.

22 *Μαντία*[c might fill the line-end. In that case the accusatives in 23 stand by themselves (‘accusatives of extent’) with the verb(s) of motion. Alternatively we could supply a preposition in the lacuna: *κατ’* (App. *Iberica* 260 *κατ’ ἄλλας καὶ ἄλλας ὁδοῦς*) looks a little long, but once again the irregularity of the right-hand margin makes it difficult to decide.

24 *ὑπεξαγαγὼν ἔλαθεν ἀφι*[. . . : presumably *ἀφι[κόμει]νος*. What is the role of Mantias? If he is identified with the ‘wandering boy’ (4–5), and if it was he who ordered the other ‘boys’ to flee, did he lead them? or did he take to flight on his own? One clue is lost in 7; in 24 *ὑπεξαγαγὼν* could be either transitive or intransitive (if the former, the object is easily understood).

P. J. PARSONS

4762. NARRATIVE ROMANCE

26 3B.5/H(1–3)a

6.5 × 9.2 cm

Third century
Plate VII

A nearly complete column from a papyrus book-roll written across the fibres on the back of a recycled register of accounts (written along the fibres, the other way up); a lone trace of the preceding column survives, a horizontal at level of line 2. (Line numbers refer to col. ii.) Top margin preserved to a depth of 1.0 cm, bottom margin of 1.5 cm. The column of writing is less than 7 cm high, just under twice as tall as it is wide, but this width is narrow: thus an unusually small roll, about the height of one’s hand, easily toted (and concealed?). Of similarly diminutive dimensions is LIV 3723 (ii AD), a versified list of mythological exempla on the *servitium amoris*, especially gods and their boy-loves (cf. J. R. Rea on LXIII 4352, who suggests that the subject is Antinoos; R. Führer, *ZPE* 122 (1998) 47–8, however, argues for the authorship of Philetas). But the present text has shorter lines (12–17 letters) and thus narrower columns. Ancient editions of novels could show concision: XLII 3012 (Antonius Diogenes, ii/iii) has 15 letters per line (column length unknown); PSI VIII 981 (‘Kalligone’, c.150) has 17–22 letters per line (but the column length in 42 lines); P. Michaelides 1 (Chariton, c.150) has 18–22 letters per line and 18 lines per column.

The hand is a version of the developed Formal Mixed type, written small, slightly sloping to the right, informal but not carelessly executed. Characteristic letter-shapes include: α , Δ , λ with right leg exceeding the left at top and hooking over slightly left; Λ triangular in three strokes; ϵ with straight back, a wide cap, and a base at a sharp angle to the back; μ with rounded saddle, merging into right

upright; γ in two strokes with hooks to both left and right. φ shows vertically compressed oval bowl; ω with a flattened middle part lifting diagonally off the line of writing at right. VII 1016 (*GMAW* 84, Plato *Phaedrus*; iii) gives a rough parallel for the style and suggests a date: L. C. Youtie, *ZPE* 21 (1976) 7 ff., with the qualifications of J. Rowlandson, *ZPE* 67 (1987) 290. Degeneration of ω with its flattened base raised at right, and decorative hooks on arms of γ, for example, show how far the style has developed.

Elision is effected but not marked in 12 (in an abbreviation), and probably also in 2; it may be effected and marked in 7 (unless the apostrophe is simply a word-separator). On the other hand, we find *scriptio plena* in 5, 6, 15, and also apparently in 13, 14, and 15 (where it coincides with points of punctuation). Prodelision (unmarked) in 10. Hiatus not avoided after *καί* (7) and *μή* (8) (not necessarily culpable: M. Reeve, *CQ* n.s. 21 (1971) 514–39); also after *λέγει* in 8 (where it initiates direct quotation). Punctuation by mid-point once (14). Short *paragraphoi* also occur twice: once after a line in which direct speech ends (4); the second after a line in which a passage in verse ends. Iota adscript is written where we expect it in 7, but omitted in 12. A iotacistic spelling (*μεικρόν*) in 11. A letter written wrongly in 1 has been corrected by a similar if not the same hand (though in different ink) in a way that suggests some care for accuracy. The omitted letters in words in 4 and 9 are phonetic spellings, rather than scribal mistakes; but other errors may remain uncorrected. The scribe's attempt to justify the right margin by writing a filler-sign at ends of some lines (5, 15, perhaps also 1 and 2), extending tail of λ (9, 13), and raising τ in abbreviation (12), meets with only partial success, in that the ends of the lines remain considerably uneven.

The genre of the composition is elusive. If a portion is in verse (below 9–12 n.), others might be as well, which points in the direction of mime or farce (perhaps the narrative to a pantomime?). However, 8 immediately suggests a more complex narrative (by an author, narrator, or character) of a dramatic encounter. After direct speech, a narrator intervenes; then direct speech continues, at first in verse (or with a verse-quotation?). The character of the prose and dramatic recounting is unelaborated, elliptical, asyndetic. (Professor Parsons notes some likeness to the *Fragmentum Grenfellianum* with its asyndetic passion.) This might point to an undeveloped state of the narrative; but this hardly exhausts the possibilities (it could be due to a later accident of transmission, abbreviation, or epitomization of an existing story). Of course we know of prosimetric narrative (see below). At the same time, it should be stressed that the text is quite uncertain in places (readings: ends of 4, 7; supplements: 7, 8), and that problems remain (syntax in 4–7, punctuation in 11–15). A hypothetical view of the action to be used with caution as a guide to reconstruction is as follows:

A speaker, 'A' (who is female), is 'on fire', and addresses a male, 'B'. According to 'A', 'B' both incites 'A' to passion (1–4), and (according to the narrator) himself

suffers symptoms of sickness (5–6, presumably those classically associated with love). ‘A’ comments on the size of an object (9–10, described in the feminine), pleading with ‘B’ to wait and not ‘put it all in’ (11–12). Then further reflections are given on the nature of the situation (12 ff.), presumably also in direct speech, and presumably by ‘A’. Nothing points to a speaking role for ‘B’.

Other parallels in content (not least *ὄνον φιλοῦσα* in 5) point to a version of the famous sex-scene from the ass-novel known in Greek from pseudo-Lucian and in Latin from book 10 of Apuleius’ *Metamorphoses* (‘A’ is the unnamed woman; ‘B’ is the man-turned-ass.) A third version is known from Photius’ epitome (no. 129), where it is ascribed to ‘Loukios of Patrai’, who (unless Photius has confused him with the novel’s narrator) is at least one candidate for the author of our fragment. From Photius onward scholars have tended to assume that an epitomizer cut down the text of ‘Loukios of Patrai’’s book (perhaps by leaving out some of the inset tales) and retaining the outlines of the main plot in the form of the pseudo-Lucianic *Loukios* or *Onos* or its immediate source.

In addition to Loukios of Patrai, two other candidates for identification of the text should be mentioned: the lost *Milesiaka* of Aristides, adapted by Sisenna (cf. 11–12 n.) and the *spurcum additamentum*, a pornographic passage interpolated in some manuscripts of Apuleius’ *Metamorphoses* 10.21 (sometimes thought to be a version by Sisenna). However, there is no evidence that Aristides’ *Milesiaka* contained an ass-story like that of the known novels, and the Latin text of the *spurcum additamentum* offers no correspondences with **4762**. See further H. J. Mason, ‘Greek and Latin Versions of the Ass-Story’, *ANRW* II 34.2 (1994) 1665–1707.

Both the *Onos* and Loukios of Patrai’s text, according to Photius, contained similar scenes of erotic encounters, including the ‘wrestling-match’ between the still human protagonist Loukios and the maid Palaistra (*Onos* 9 f.), and the encounter of Loukios in his ass-form with an unnamed woman in Thessalonike (*Onos* 50–51). In the pseudo-Lucianic *Onos*, the ass Loukios is loved by a rich and beautiful woman, who contrives to have a love-night with the ass. Alone with the ass, she undresses, perfumes herself and the ass, and kisses him. At first the ass fears that, since his asinine membrum might be too large for her, he might kill her. She, however, kisses him again and proves to be perfectly able to accommodate him, so that Loukios spends the whole night with her, comparing himself to the lover of Pasiphae (cf. Ovid *AA* 1.295–326). These two erotic scenes have been traditionally seen as windows into the lost *Μεταμορφώσεις*, i.e. as closest to the lost original, and as containing less a summary than a word-by-word adaptation (H. van Thiel, *Der Eselroman 1: Untersuchungen* (Munich 1971) 21 ff.).

Such cannot be said to be the case for **4762**. It is less elaborated than the *Onos* and highly elliptical by comparison, but in some respects more exciting, explicit, and daring. At the same time, the narrative of the new fragment is suggestive of the Milesian Tale, while the dramatic encounter is reminiscent of the mime and

popular farce. The number of different known versions of this scene (now totalling at least three and possibly four) suggests that the story (and this scene in particular) was extremely popular and circulated in a variety of forms. **4762** shows another ass-novel on papyrus, in addition to P. Lond. Lit. 194, identified as the pseudo-Lucianic *Asinus* by J. Lennaerts, *Cd'É* 97 (1974) 115–20 (for papyri of Lucian see on **LXIX 4738**). A version in prosimetrum adds another example of this form from the milieu of the Greek novel to the very few ancient novels known so far to have exhibited it: **XLII 3010** ('Iolaos'), P. Turner 8 ('Tinouphis'), and Petronius (on derivation, see further Stephens–Winkler, *Ancient Greek Novels* 363–6, 'Prosimetric Texts and Menippean Satire').

col. i

]

].

 . . .

2 high horizontal protruding just on to the left edge of the fragment: τ?

col. ii

	δειν ^ω σφλεγομαι[	“δεινῶς φλέγομαι [
	ρευμαμηκειδ.[	ρευμα μ' ἤκει δι[ὰ σέ,?
	ιδητεκνωμεν.[	ἴδητε, κνωμένη[ν·
	τιποτεμενυς.ις.[	τί ποτέ με νύς(ς)εις;” τὸ[ν
5	ονονφιλουσαα.>	ὄνον φιλοῦσα ἀλ-
	.[.]υντα.σποτεσυν	χ[ο]ῦντα, ὥς ποτε συν-
	...]πε[]σῶαυτωικαι	εἰσέ]πεσ' αὐτῶι· καὶ
	α.[.]υμενηλεγει	αἰ[το]υμένη λέγει
	ουω'.παχεακαιμεγα	“οὐῶ, παχε(ῖ)α καὶ μεγά-
10	ληστινωσδοκοςμε	λη 'στιν, ὡς δοκός. / μέ-
	νεκαταμεικρονμη	νε, κατὰ μεικρόν· μῆ
	οληνες.βαλη[.]τιποτ	ὄλην ἔσω βάλης. τί ποτ(ε);
	ουκεστιτουτοαλλα	οὐκ ἔστι τοῦτο; ἀλλὰ
	τιουδεπαντουτο	τί; οὐ δὲ πᾶν τοῦτο.
15	αλλααλλ.τ.αναι>	ἀλλὰ ἄλλοτε; ἀναι-

2 δ.[, a straight-backed vertical stroke (with angled serif at top) widening slightly at mid-level before the break below, as though the juncture of two strokes: α, η, λ not excluded (the slight trace off to top right is not certainly ink and may be just a smudge) 3 .[, upright with horizontal protruding from middle, suggesting η 4]., top of a round letter as of ε, ς . . ., part of an upright, short horizontal at top-line 5 ., two converging diagonals at lower left suggesting α

more than λ, and above this a tiny oblique with a horizontal protruding from the middle: α corrected suprascript to λ? 6 [], short horizontal stroke at top-line as τ or top of ε, c [], tip of diagonal as upper arm of κ, γ, × [], prima facie two diagonals as of α, α, λ (but space too narrow for any of these) followed by ι, alternatively right side of ω (with a bottom less flat and angled than elsewhere) 7 [] space wide enough for ι (just), but no ink and looks blank (surface undamaged) 8 [], upright on the line close-in to α as of τ, η, ι, Ν, π, not ρ 9 after ου right arm of γ continues (with a slight disjunction) diagonally above ω, possibly as left element of α, λ, × 12 after η, a short gap (not sufficient for ι), then horizontal strokes at top and bottom suggesting upper and lower parts of c 15 [τ], before τ upper half of a tight round letter as ο, ρ; after τ prima facie upright, but with point of ink (end of rounded cap or raised point?) at upper right, and ink protruding horizontally from middle, suggesting ε, though unusually narrow

‘. . . I’m burning, terribly. A stream (or: dance?) comes on me . . . itching. Why ever do you prick me?’, as she kisses the ailing ass, since at length she had rushed in on him; and pleading for herself says: ‘Eee! It’s fat and big as a roof-beam. Wait! Gradually! Don’t put all of it in.’ ‘What then?’ ‘Isn’t it as I say?’ ‘But what else?’ ‘And that is not the whole thing.’ ‘But another time? . . .’

col. ii

1–4 Speech of the woman, detailing symptoms associated topically with love: see H. Maehler, ‘Symptome der Liebe im Roman und in der griechischen Anthologie’, in H. Hoffmann (ed.), *Groningen Colloquia on the Novel* iii (Groningen 1990) 1–12.

1 δεινῶς φλέγομαι: possibly an asyndetic beginning, this could be the fragmentary end of a sentence begun in col. i. Presumably a verb of speaking introducing direct quotation preceded, on which the participle in 5 φιλούσα depends. Perhaps we should punctuate with a comma at the end of 1, taking it as a dependent clause: ‘[Although] I’m completely on fire, a stream comes over me.’ But the elliptical continuation in 2 and 4 would seem to permit asyndeton here, perhaps highlighting the speaker’s emotional state.

The main hand wrote δεινός. Suprascripted ω and diagonal cancel stroke in paler, faded ink, in the same or a very similar hand. Since δεινός does not give good sense, presumably the error was scribal.

φλέγομαι. Images of burning from eros are rife in prose romance, often drawn from the language of erotic lyric and epigram: Sappho 31.10–13 (χρῶι πῦρ ὑπαεδρόμακεν), *Fragmentum Grenfellianum* (CA pp. 177–80) 15–16, 24 (κυνοδηγὸν ἔχω τὸ πολὺ πῦρ / τὸ ἐν τῆι ψυχῆι μου καιόμενον . . . κατακαίομαι καταλελειμμένη), Chariton 1.1, 4.2f., Xen. Eph. 1.5, Longus 2.7, Ach. Tat. 4.7.

After -μαι, the millimeter or so of extant uninscribed papyrus surface is not quite enough to guarantee line-end; judging from the level of the ends of 6 and 9–13 one could allow for 1–3 more letters. As preserved, -μαι in 1 would be the shortest of the preserved line-ends, ending at about the same level as 5 and 15 (without the caret-shaped filler-signs added there). An additional possibility to be reckoned with is that a space-filler took up the extra space after -μαι in 1.

2 ρευμα. If ῥεῦμα, presumably a cold ‘stream’ of sweat (Sappho 31.13 ἀ δέ μ’ ἴδρωσ κακχέεται; Lucr. 3.154 sudores; Heliod. 4.11 ἰδρῶτι πολλῶ), or perhaps water applied for the purpose of cooling (for the burning of love combined with water, see Musaeus 245–6 with Costa’s note); one could think of a less poetic sense, cf. Henderson, *Maculate Muse* 145f. (However, if more letters are allowed at the end of 1, then [τὸ] | ῥεῦμα, [κό]ρευμα, or [χό]ρευμα, ‘dirty-dancing’, i.e. I start to shake, quiver: Sappho 31.13 τρόμος). Contradictory sensations of eros are often emphasized: Sappho 31.10–13 (flame under the skin vs. cold sweat). By comparison, though along similar lines, *Onos* 51 εἰς ἔρωτά μου θερμὸν ἐμπίπτει seems a weak paraphrase. Instead, the papyrus seems to offer the kind of monologue (the ass being unable to communicate in human language) alluded to in the other versions, though

either not given or not given in the same form as in the papyrus: *Onos* 51 εἶτά με κατεφίλησε καὶ οἶα πρὸς αὐτῆς ἐρώμενον καὶ ἄνθρωπον διελέγετο, 51 τοῖς φιλήμασι τούτοις ἐρωτικούς προσκαλουμένη; cf. Apul. *Met.* 10.21 *pura atque sincera instruit et blandissimos adfatus: 'Amo' et 'Cupio' et 'Te solum diligo' et 'Sine te iam uiuere nequeo' et cetera, quis mulieres et alios inducunt et suas testantur adfectiones.*

We expect a verb, thus μ' ἤκει? The parallels for ἤκω with the accusative are poetic: Aesch. *Prom.* 717 ἤξειε Ὑβριστην ποταμόν (cf. Longus 2.7 εἰς ποταμὸν ἐνέβαινον ὡς καιόμενος), 724, 730, Eur. *Bacch.* 1) and mean 'arrive at a place' (cf. Plat. *Protag.* 310c αὐτὰ ταῦτα ἤκω παρά σε). μήκει or εἶδη could be relevant, but do not resolve into sufficiently specific images, and lack a verb. More violent solutions could be devised: μηκ(ύν)ει δι[ὰ μέ, 'lengthens', 'enlarges over me'? At end, δῆ or δι[ἴδητε could be read; but if so, the line will be left too short, even with a filler-sign (were two filler-signs written?).

3 ἴδητε: probably 'see', rather than 'understand'—a 'formal/polite plural', and voluntative or anticipatory subjunctive; but syntax and reference are admittedly obscure. The presence of at least one other person (a servant, for example) could be indicated, though this is missing from the other accounts. Ideally, -ἴδητε would conceal a vocative, but it is hard to see a name here. To avoid the plural, one could try ἴδη τε (perhaps with μή from preceding line; but in that case another verb will be needed there). We could have punctuation after 2, and take ἴδητε with the participle that follows (understanding με over from 2): 'I would have you see that I am . . .'

κνωμένη[ν: middle, not 'scratching myself', but 'itching' (Gal. 10.437, 979), though the passive 'being tickled' (Luc. *Nec.* 3) would not entirely be out of place.

4 τί ποτε: with intensive force, 'why/how ever?', 'in the world'; so also in 12, cf. ὡς ποτε in 6.

νύ(ς)ει: 'prick', i.e. with the pain of desire; the other meanings 'stab', 'pierce', 'sting' (Longus 2.7 ὡς οἴστρωι πληγεῖς ἐμυκάτο), 'make a pointed attack' are all relevant. Dr R. May notes that the same expression famously is used in the erotic 'wrestling-match' scene at *Onos* 9 βάλε καὶ πρῶσας (πρῶσας recc.) νύσσει ἥδη πανταχοῦ (cf. 30 νύττουσαι), and compares Apul. *Met.* 5.24 *me telo meo percussit*—a conscious link, perhaps, although in both those places the reference is to penetration, whereas here it is to the desire that precedes it.

At end of line, the scanty traces suggest more than a filler-sign (as in 5, 15): an upright and part of a high horizontal (which may be top of a round letter): e.g. τ[ό]ν rather than κα[ί] (both somewhat long, but the line-ends are uneven; cf. 1, 2, 14–15 relative to 13, etc.). The *paragraphos* after this line (whether indicating speaker change or metrical blocks) implies end of sentence somewhere within this line or at the end. If the break came after νύσσει, it is not excluded that [ἐ]μέ stood here, which would be crucial for the exact form of the narrative. Dr Gonis suggests ἦν (with 5 φιλοῦσα) as periphrastic imperfect (common in colloquial language), which would give a main clause and finite verb in what follows.

5–8 Third- (or first-?) person narration of the activities leading up to intercourse.

5 ὄνον φιλοῦσα: Unless we read a connective or ἦν at the end of 4, this clause continues the narration after the direct quotation (presumably dependent on a verb of speaking in the preceding column, cf. on 1). In the *Onos*, the love scene starts with the matron kissing the ass: 51 εἶτά με κατεφίλησε, 51 ἦ γὰρ γυνὴ πολλοῖς τοῖς φιλήμασι καὶ τούτοις ἐρωτικοῖς προσκαλουμένη; cf. Apul. *Met.* 10.21 *exoscultata pressule*. But these verbal parallels may seem superficial in light of the broader differences between the three accounts.

ὄνον is consistent with, but is not necessarily indicative of an independent third-person narrative. In the *Onos*, as in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, the narrator not infrequently contrasts his human feelings with his asinine form, e.g. *Onos* 33, 40, 45, etc.; note especially in the sex-scene in 51 where he talks about himself as both 'the ass' and as 'me': τοῦτο μὲν τὸ κάλλος ἰδοῦσα τοῦ ὄνου, τοῦτο δὲ τῶι παραδόξωι τῶν ἐμῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων, i.e. he takes an ironic stance by speaking of himself at first in the third person. Thus in the present passage the word ὄνον could have been spoken by a first

person narrator commenting on his situation in the past; presumably this would extend as well to 7 *αὐτῶι*, which, in this case, would be a somewhat weak anaphoric reference to *ὄνον* (= the narrator himself?).

5–6 ἀλ|γ[ο]ῦντα (suggested by Dr D. Colomo): sc. *ὄνον*, either because he is already aroused (cf. Ar. *Lys.* 845 ff.), or out of his anxiety that he will hurt the woman. For ‘love-sickness’, see e.g. Longus 2.7 ἤλγουν τὴν ψυχὴν; Xen. Eph. 1 ἀλγοῦσιν.

6–7 ὥς ποτε *συν*|[εἰε]πεε’ *αὐτῶι*. It is tempting to take ὥς ποτε as parenthetical and elliptical (cf. AP 16.8.1). What follows seems to have some correspondence to *Ὀνος* 51 με ἐκ φορβαίας λαβομένη ἐπὶ τὸ χαμῆνιον εἶλκεν, cf. 51 ὡς εἶδεν οὐ κατέχοντα, ὥσπερ ἀνδρὶ παρακειμένη περιβάλλεταιί με; Apul. *Met.* 10.21 *capistroque me prehensum more, quo didiceram, reclinat facile*. The basic sense must be: ‘enough kissing; let’s get down to business’. Possible articulations are *συν*[...]πεε’ *αὐτῶι* and (if the apparent elision mark is simply a word-separator) *συν*[...]πεε *αὐτῶι*, where *συν* could be either the preposition or part of a compound. *συνειπίπτω* is sufficiently well exemplified in prose of the early imperial period, often with military or aggressive connotations: compare the variety of verbs with connotations of military assault in the detailed instructions given in *Ὀνος* 9. (*συν*|[κατέ]πεε’, ‘fall down along with’ (used of wrestling: Gal. *Nat. Fac.* 3.3) is too long for the space; *συν*|[εε]πεε’ could have been written, but *συν*|[εἰε]πεε’ would just fit.) In a TLG search, ἔπεε’ appears exclusively as elided ἔπεεε, and almost all of the examples are from Homer, tragedy, and Callimachus (*h.* 6.86). While words that admit the *ν*-movable do not normally undergo elision in prose (though frequent enough in verse), the *ν*-movable is applied with great inconsistency in the papyri, and the elision might be relevant in prosimetric narrative (cf. prodelision in verse in 10), as here where the context is vaguely iambic. Reading a participle could be attempted, e.g. *συν*|[κλα]πε[ί]ε’ *αὐτῶι*, ‘having been deceived by him’ (W. B. Henry), or *συν*|[τρε]πε[ί]ε’ ‘having been turned to him’. But both of these introduce an extra element into the plot.

8 αἰ[το]υμένη: αἰ[δο]υμένη not impossible, but the nature of the following utterances as requests recommends the former. The trace is not suitable for *ρ* (*ἀρνούμενη*) which elsewhere descends deep; *ἀπορουμένη* (better for metre) would be too tight a fit.

9–12 The woman hesitates, urging caution, in comic trimeters, as Professor Parsons notes:

*οὐαί, παχεῖα καὶ μεγάλη ’στιν, ὡς δοκός.
μένε, κατὰ μικρόν μηδ’ ὄλην ἔσω βάλῃς.*

Quotation? or composed by the author? If the latter, he seems to know Aristophanes (*Pax* 927 *παχεῖα καὶ μεγάλη*).

9 οὐῶ (or οὐῶ). In the papyrus presumably *ουω* has been written for οὐῶ. A stroke extends diagonally as though continuing the right arm of Υ (with only a slight disjunction at the top level of the letters) and rising over the following ω , to what end is not clear. It is not obviously α written superscript, i.e. *ουω* corrected to *ουα* for οὐαί, ‘exclamation of pain or fear’, which would suit the situation here. Usually οὐαί has an attached dative (or accusative) construction (as e.g. in the mime 413 184 οὐαί σοι, ταλαίπωρε . . . οὐαί σοι οὐαί μοι), or with the nominative (with or without the article) as a vocative (e.g. NT *Rv* 18.10, 16, 19 οὐαὶ οὐαὶ ἡ πόλις ἡ μεγάλη; Uncanonical Gospel V 840 31 οὐαί, τυφλοὶ μὴ ὀρώντ[ε]ς), or with what follows giving the reason for the pain or fear in a dependent clause, introduced by e.g. ἀπό or ὅτι. In any case, οὐῶ is a common self-standing exclamation. It may be relevant to the sound of οὐῶ/οὐῶ (written *ουω* in the papyrus) that in the other versions the ass cannot express himself vocally in human language, but only by means of animal sounds: these are represented as ὦ and οὐ in *Ὀνος* (16 and 38, cf. *Met.* 7.3), and ο in Apul. *Met.* (3.29, 8.29).

καί: the letters are written more compacted than in the main hand elsewhere. At end, tail of alpha takes up space at end of line, as in 13.

9–10 *παχε(ῖ)α καὶ μεγάλη*: sc. *ψωλή*. For feminine adjectives used elliptically in this sense (miss-

ing in *Maculate Muse*) see J. M. Adams, 'A Type of Sexual Euphemism in Latin', *Phoenix* 35 (1981) 120–8 at 124–5, noting Strato, *A. P.* 12.216.1 *vūn ὀρθή . . . καὶ εὖτονος* (the penis is addressed); cf. *MM* ch. 4 §29 p. 117: 'At Lys. 956 *ταυτηνί* probably understands *ψωλήν*. *ψωλή* is 'a penis ready for intercourse' (*MM* §4 p. 110), whereas by comparison *πόσθη* and *κάθη* are reserved for small or normal-sized organs (*MM* §§2–3 pp. 109–10). *μέγας* itself can denote the erect penis: *Vesp.* 68f. (W. M. Calder III, *CP* 65 (1970) 257, with the reply of M. Marcovich and Calder's response, *CP* 66 (1971) 262; *MM* §21 pp. 115–16), and is often paired with *παχύς* in describing the erect phallus: *Lys.* 23ff., *Pax* 1352–2, *Ec.* 1048, *Ach.* 787, *Nu.* 539, fr. 128.3 K.–A.; cf. *Th.* 581 *πράγμα δεινὸν καὶ μέγα*.

10 *ὡς δοκός*: 'like a roof-beam' (absent from *Maculate Muse* §§45–72, pp. 120–4, 'Phallic Implements: Weapons and other hard elongated objects'); *κήλων*, 'shaft' or 'beam' (*EM* 510.51) seems to come closest. *Il.* 17.742–4 where Menelaos and Meriones are compared to mules (*ἡμίονοι*) dragging a roof-beam (*δοκός*) as they carry the dead Patroklos from the battle-field, may be relevant. Professor R. Kaster compares *Catul.* 28.10 *tota ista trabe*.

10–11 *μῆνε, κατὰ μεικρόν· μὴ κτλ.*: 'Stop! Gradually! Not all at once', rather than 'wait a little' (taking *μῆνε* with *κατὰ μεικρόν*; the latter normally means 'bit by bit', not 'for a short time').

11–12 *μὴ | ὄλην ἔσω βάλῃς: μὴ* apparently stands at line-end; hiatus could be saved by conjecturing *μῆ<δ>* or *μῆ<θ>*, whether as an error of the scribe or of the author is unclear. Cf. *Sisenna* fr. x (*Sisennae Reliquiae Milesiarum* in F. Buecheler, *Petronii Saturae et liber Priapeorum*, ed. 5 cur. G. Heraeus (Berlin 1912) p. 265 from Charisius p. 223) *ut eum penitus utero suo recepit* (but no evidence that an animal was involved). Note that *Onos* 51 *εἴσω ὄλον παρεδέξατο* seems to say that exactly the opposite in fact occurred. In both *Onos* and *Apul. Met.* the ass fears for the woman because of his size: *Met.* 10.22 *sed angebar plane non exili metu reputans, quem ad modum tantis tamque magis cruribus possem delicatam matronam inscendere . . . nouissime quo pacto quanquam ex unguiculis perpruriscens, mulier tam uastum genitale susciperet*; *Onos* 51 *καὶ μὴν τοῦτό μ' εἰς δέος οὐχὶ μέτριον ἦγε, μὴ οὐ χωρήσασα ἢ γυνὴ διασπασθείη, καγὼ ὤσπερ ἀνδροφόνος καλὴν δώσω δίκην*.

12–15 Reflection on the outcome. Having doubtfully hesitated (perhaps not entirely seriously), asking the ass to go slowly, the woman now comments on the sufficiency of the result in brief snippets of monologue, eventually demanding more than she asked for in 9–11. This might imply that (as in *Onos* and *Met.*) the ass took a cautious approach here too, at least initially. There is no sign in the other versions, however, of this extended coital banter. *Apul. Met.* 10.22 *molles interdum uoculas . . . iterabat illa, et in summa: 'Teneo te', inquit, 'teneo, meum palumbulum, meum passerem', et cum dicto uanas fuisse cogitationes meas ineptumque monstrat metum* seems to point to a second pre-coital monologue (the *Onos* shows no parallel). *Paragraphos* after 12 presumably marks end of the metrical section. The phrasing might be apportioned somewhat differently (12–13 *τί ποτ' οὐκ ἔστι τοῦτο* could be a statement). We have punctuated so as to assume maximum interchange (i.e. breaks allowed for the 'response' of the inarticulate ass).

12 *τί ποτ(ε)*; cf. the woman's 'τί ποτε' in 5.

13 *οὐκ ἔστι τοῦτο*; is not obviously a question, and could be taken as a statement: 'This isn't (possible)'.

14 *οὐ δὲ πᾶν τοῦτο*: presumably a complaint. Articulation could be *οὐδέ* (but there seems to be no corresponding member).

15 *ἄλλοτε*, might refer to a second (successful?) attempt, after an initial failure to please.

ἀναι- could be any number of words, including a form of *ἀναιρεῖν*. Dr R. May suggests a form of *ἀναίεσθαι*, in the sense 'to refuse one's favours' (*Maculate Muse* 161).

III. KNOWN LITERARY TEXTS

4763–4771. DEMOSTHENES

This part consists of papyri of Demosthenes' speeches II, III, IV, and IX, in addition to the papyri of these speeches published in volume LXII, and all the previously unpublished papyri in the Oxyrynchus collection of Demosthenes XIV and XVI. All come from rolls and date from the first three centuries AD.

The collation takes as its basis the edition of M. R. Dilts, *Demosthenis Orationes* i (Oxford 2002), which gives a detailed account of the primary manuscripts SAFY. The edition of K. Fuhr, *Demosthenis Orationes* i (Leipzig 1914) has also been consulted. The sigla used are those of Dilts.

The new papyri offer fourteen new variants (**4763** alone contributes eleven), but all of them are inferior to those accepted. Among those worth mentioning are *πάντας οὐς* instead of *πάντας ὄσους* in **4763** i 11; the superfluous addition of *στρατηγῶν* in **4763** i 19; *οἱ δέ* instead of *καὶ οἱ* in **4763** ii 3; *τὸ γὰρ ἄδικον μὲν* instead of *τὸ γὰρ ἠδίκημένον* in **4763** ii 19; a different word order in **4768** 9–10; the omission of *δή* in **4769** ii 2; *παρασκευασαμένους* instead of *παρεσκευασμένους* in **4769** ii 7–8. Of some textual interest is also the reading *περιεστε* (l. *περιέσται*) in **4763** ii 21 instead of *ἐξέσται*; this is attested as a variant in the medieval tradition.

The texts of **4763**, **4764**, and **4770** overlap with that of previously published papyri. The sample is too small to allow any conclusions, but it is interesting to note that the papyri agree with each other in cases where the medieval tradition appears divided; see e.g. **4770** 1–2, 5, 9, 10.

In places where the medieval tradition is divided, the new texts do not strictly side with a particular branch. However, the fact that **4766** seems to disagree consistently with S, and **4767** with A, perhaps gives some support to the hypothesis that the division of the tradition into two main branches (S vs. AFY) took place in antiquity rather than the Middle Ages. This is also suggested by I **25** (M–P³ 289), II **232** (M–P³ 318), and LVI **3849** (M–P³ 302.02). On the tradition of the text of Demosthenes in general, see E. Drerup, *Philologus* Suppl. 7 (1899) 533–51; G. Pasquali, *Storia della tradizione e critica del testo* (Firenze 1934) 269–89; H. Erbse in H. Hunger (ed.), *Geschichte der Textüberlieferung* i (Zürich 1961) 262–4; D. Irmer, *Philologus* 112 (1968) 43–62; D. M. MacDowell, *Demosthenes: Against Meidias* (Oxford 1990) 48–9; J. Gruskova, *AnPap* 12 (2000) 95–139.

Interestingly but not unusually (cf. for instance XLVIII pp. 27–8, on papyri of Herodotus), the papyri do not share any variants with the indirect tradition, wherever there is an overlap. It is also worth noting that no modern conjecture is confirmed by the text of the papyri published below.

R. HATZILAMBROU

4763. DEMOSTHENES II 27–28, 29–31

50 4B.33/K(1–3)a

13.3 × 17 cm

Third century
Plate V

A fragment of a roll preserving parts of two densely written columns with the intercolumnium and upper margin of 1.5 and 2 cm respectively. Col. i has 22 lines, occupying c.15 cm; 12 lines have been lost at the foot. The original height of the column will have been c.23 cm. The width of col. ii is c.7 cm. The whole of *Olynthiac* II will have been written in some 12 columns, which would have occupied c.1.15 m; the lost part of col. ii will have contained the end of the speech. The text is written across the fibres, on the back of an account.

The hand is a version of the ‘Severe Style’; it looks like the informal counterpart of VII **1016** = *GMAW*² 84, assigned to the third century (above p. 23). It is medium-sized, sometimes slanting to the right, with many ligatures and written fairly fast. ρ, γ, τ, φ, and occasionally ι send down long, and usually seriffed, descenders. ζ is of the book-hand type. τ is in two strokes with a continuous upper stroke, while μ and ν may be confused (cf. e.g. ii 1).

The scribe used *scriptio plena* (i 2, 12, 15, 20; ii 6, 13), but effected a (tacit) elision once (ii 16). In i 4, 6, ii 10, 12, and 13 apostrophes separate two consonants. In i 3, 13, and 22 final ν is represented by a horizontal dash written above the letter. In i 12 and 13 (ε]ι) there are diaereses over ι. Iota adscript is not written. The added line in ii 1a seems to be due to the original scribe, who is also responsible for the corrections in i 17 (see n.) and 20. There is a filler-sign in i 6.

The text presents a high level of error. There are several phonetic spellings, and numerous new readings (i 11, 18; ii 1, 1a, 3, 4, 8, 18, 19, 20), all of which, however, are patently corrupt. But there is one point of textual interest: in ii 21 we find a reading attested as variant in the medieval tradition.

Parts of §27 are also extant in XVI **1820** fr. 14–18 and LXII **4315**, of §29 in **4315**, and of §§30–1 in **1810** fr. 19 and LXII **4313**.

Col. i

τους μεν α]ξ[ιο]υς επαινου (§27)
 τιμαν τους δ]ε αδικουντας κο
 λαζειν τας προ]φασεις δε αφελει
 και τα καθ ημας] ενλειμ'ματα
 5 ου γαρ εστι πικ]ρωσ εξετασαι τι
 πεπρακται το]ις αλ'λοις εαν >
 μη παρ υμων] αυτων πρωτον
 υπαρξη τα δεο]ντα τινος γαρ ε
 νεκα ω ανδρες] Αθηναιοι νομι §28

10 ζετε τουτον με]ν φευ[γ]ειν τ[ο]ν
 πολεμον παν]τας ους αν εκπεμ
 ψητε στρατηγο]υς ιδιους δε ευρισ
 κειν πολεμου]ς [ε]ϊ̄ δει τι των οντῶ
 και περι των] στρατηγων ειπειν
 15 οτι ενταυ]θα μεν εστιν τα αθλα
 υπερ ων εστι]ν ο πολεμος υμετερα
 Αμφιπολις κ]αν λη̄μφθη̄ παραχρημα
 υμεις κομει]σθαι οι δε κινδυνοι
 των εφεσ]τ[η]κοτων στρατηγων
 20 ιδιοι μισθο]ς δε ουκ[[αι]] `ε̄ς̄τι
 εκει δε κινδ]υνοι μεν ελα[τ]τ̄ους
 τα δε λημμα]τα των [ε]φ[ε]σ[τ]ηκοτ]ῶ
 (12 lines missing)

Col.ii

ναιοι εισφερ[ε]τ]ε κατα συμμο (§29)
 νυν δε πολι]τε]υεσθαι κατα συμ[μοριας
 ριας ρητωρ η[γ]εμων εκατερων
 και στρατηγος υπο τουτων οι δε
 βοηθησομενοι τριακοσιοι οι δ[
 5 αλλοι προσνεμεσθαι οι μεν
 ως τουτους οι δε ω[ς] ε]κεινους δε[ι
 §30
 δη ταυτ[α] επαγεγ[α]σ και υμ[ων
 αυτων ετι και νυν γενομενο]υς
 και το λεγειν και το βουλευεσθ[αι
 10 και το πρατ'τειν ποιησαι ε[ι] δε
 τοις μεν ωσπερ εκ τυρανν[ιδος
 υμων επιτατ'τειν αποδωσ[ετε
 τοις δε αναγ'καζεσθαι τριη[ραρ
 χειν εισφερειν στρατευεσ[θαι
 15 τοις δε ψηφιζεσθαι κατα τουτ[ων
 μονον αλλο δε μηδ οτιουν σ[υμ
 πονειν ουχι γενησεται των δ[εον
 των υμειν ουδεν μεν εν κ[αιρω
 το γαρ αδικον μεν αι μερ[ο]ς
 20 λειπι[. . .] τουτοις κολαζε[ι]ν
 τι των εχθρων περιεστε λε[ι
 §31
 (11 lines missing)

Col. i

3 δε om. **1810**.

4 ενλειμ'ματα. For the spelling, see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 168–70.

11 παντ]ας ους: πάντας ὄρους SF.

17 κ]αν could be restored with SF. Fuhr and Dilts print γ' ἄν, suggested by Deuerling.

λημφθη was initially omitted by the copyist, who later squeezed λη between and ν and π, and added μφθη above the line. For the spelling, see Gignac, *Grammar* i 269.

18 κομει]σθαι, l. κομειίθε. Cf. ii 1a, 4, 21. For the spelling, see Gignac, *Grammar* i 192–3.

19 των εφεσ]τ[η]κοτων στρατηγων: των εφεστηκοτων SF. στρατηγῶν is redundant, since οἱ ἐφεστηκότες are the commanders. It could be an influence from στρατηγῶν in 14 or στρατηγους in 12, or even an intrusive gloss.

Col. ii

1–1a The text runs . . . εἰσφέρειτε κατὰ συμμορίας, νῦν δὲ πολιτεύεσθε κατὰ συμμορίας. The scribe jumped from the first συμμο- to the second -ρίας, thus omitting one sentence (*saut du même au même*). He later corrected the mistake by inserting, in smaller script, the omitted sentence between the lines.

1 εισφερ[ετ]ε: εἰσφέρειτε SF.

εισφερ[ετ]ε κατα συμμο[ριας]. This is the word order of SF. Thomas Magister transmits κατὰ συμμορίας εἰσφέρειτε, the word order of the passage in [Dem.] 13.20, which coincides with a conjecture by Cobet.

1a πολι[τρε]υεσθαι, l. πολιτεύεσθε. See above, i 17 n.

νυν: νυνί SF.

3 υπο τουτων: ὑπὸ τούτω SF. The new reading is wrong, and may be an influence from the genitive plural in the previous line (ἐκατέρων).

οι δε: καὶ οἱ SF. The new reading probably stems from οἱ δ(ε) that follows.

4 βοηθησομενοι: βοηρόμενοι SF. βοηθησομενοι may be a mere banalization.

τριακοσιοι is the majority reading. A few codices transmit οἱ τριακόσιοι, printed by Bekker.

προσνεμεσθαι, l. προσνέμησθε. See above, i 17 n.

8 After γενομένους, SF have κοινόν, but there is no space for this in the break here—an inadvertent omission.

9 και το λεγειν και το βουλευεσθ[αι] with F: καὶ τὸ βουλεύεσθαι καὶ τὸ λέγειν S.

12 επιτατ'τειν: ἐπιτάττει F^a.

18 ουδεν μεν: οὐδέν SF.

19 το γαρ αδικον μεν: τὸ γὰρ ἡδίκημένον **1810 4313** SF. μεν is unnecessary, and is apparently an influence from μεν in the previous line (18). It is also likely that αδικον μεν is a corrupt rendering of ἡδίκημένον.

20 λειπι[. . .] τουτοις: ἐλλείψει εἶτα ὑμῖν τούτους MSS.

21 περιεστε (l. περιέσται: see i 17 n.) with S^{γρ}F^{γρ}: ἐξέσται SF.

4764. DEMOSTHENES III (*OLYNTH.* III) 1, 33; IV (*PHIL.* I) 7, 15–16, 22

115/A(27)a

Fr. 4 4.8 × 9.0 cm

Late first/second century

Six fragments of a roll preserving along the fibres parts of *Olynthiaca* III and *In Philippum* I. Top margin is shown in fr. 1, 4 and perhaps 3, and measures up to 1.4 cm; left margin in fr. 6 of about 1 cm. There were twenty-two letters on average to the line, which will have been c.6 cm wide. The back is blank.

The text is written fairly fast in a rounded, medium to small, and upright hand of informal character with occasional cursive tendencies. ε has detached central stroke, which makes contact with the following letter; μ has deep flattened saddle; γ is in three different forms: made in a single stroke with a looped base (e.g. fr. 4.7), with arms forming a deep acute angle and very short stem (e.g. fr. 4.5), and with shallow curved arms and taller stem (e.g. fr. 1.1). Ornamental finials are added to the extremities of most uprights and obliques, and enhance bilinearity, the latter violated only by φ and ρ. This hand could be placed between those illustrated in Schubart, *PGB* 18 = Roberts, *GLH* 11a (second half of first century), *GLH* 11b (AD 94), and Turner, *GMAW*² 17, *PGB* 30b (both of the second century) and *GLH* 14 (mid-second century). Thus a date in the late first or early second century would seem probable.

No lectional signs occur apart from a diaeresis (inorganic) in fr. 4.9. There is perhaps a space-filler in fr. 4.8. Elision is effected tacitly in fr. 3.2.

The papyrus overlaps with LXII **4314** (M–P³ 256.12) and P. Sorb. I 6 (M–P³ 259.1). This will have been a roll that contained speeches classified as Φιλιππικοί, probably already in antiquity (see M. W. Haslam, *LCM* I (1976) 9–10); cf. XV **1810** (M–P³ 256) and LXII **4314**.

Fr. 1

ουχι ταυτ[α παρισταται μοι γι
 γνω[ε]κειν [ω ανδρες Αθηναι
 οι οταν τε [εις τα πραγματα α
 ποβλε[ψω και οταν προς τους
 5 λογου[ε ους ακουω τους μεν
 γ]αρ λο[γους περι του τιμωρη

Ol. III 1

4 προς restored *exempli gratia* (spacing is indecisive) with SF^a: εἰς F^c Luc. *Bis acc.* 26, Syr. *In Her- mog. comment.* I 27.12, Prisc. (*Gramm. Lat.* III) 295.10

Fr. 2

θ]ων χρη[ε]θη εως αν εως

Ol. III 33

ω̄ ανδρε[ς Αθηναιοι τελειον
τι] και με[γα κτησαιθε αγαθον
κα]ι των [τοιουτων

1 χρη[σηθε restored with SF: χρήθαι A.

3 κτήσαιθε restored *exempli gratia* with F^a: κτήσηθε SF^c: κτήσεσθε A.

Fr. 3

τερων και ε]καστο[ς υμων ου Phil. I 7
δ ει και δυ]ναιτ αν π[αρασχειν
αυτον χ]ρησιμον [τη πολει
πασαν] αφεις την [ειρωνειαν
5 ετοι]μος π[ραττειν υπαρξη
ο μεν] χρη[ματ εχων εισφερειν
].[.].[

2-3 π[αρασχειν αυτον χ]ρησιμον [τη πολει with P. Sorb. 6 SF: χρήσιμον τῇ πόλει παρασχέιν
αυτόν A*: [4314].

4 την [ειρωνειαν with P. Sorb. 6 SF: [4314]: τήν deleted by Frohberger and Blass.

5 ετοι]μος with S^cF^c: ἐτοίμως S^aF^a: [P. Sorb. 6 4314].

π[ράττειν deleted by Dobree.

6 εισφερειν restored with 4314 SF: εισφερεσθαι P. Sorb. 6 (by homoioteleuton with στρατεύ-
εσθαι).

7 Too little is extant for any text to be confirmed.

Fr. 4

ποθεν διαμε]ναι δ[υνησεται Phil. I 15
εως αν η] δ[ι]αλυσω[μεθα πει
σθεντε]ς τον πολεμον η περ[ι
γενωμ]εθα των εχθρων ου
5 τω γαρ ου]κετι του λοιπου πα
σχοιμε]ν αν κακως ομαι τοι
νυν εγω] ταυτα λεγειν εχειν
μη κατα]λυων ει τις αλλος ε >
παγγελεται τι η] μεν ουν ü
10 ποσχεσις ουτω] μεγαλη το δε
πραγμα ηδη το]ν ελεγχον δω
κει κριται δ υμεις] εσεσθε πρω §16

τον μεν τοινυ]γ ω ανδρε[ε
 Αθηναιοι τριηρε]ις π[εν]τ[η
 15 κοντα παρασκευ]αζ[ασθαι

2 εως restored *exempli gratia* with S: τέως **1810** F Ex. 21. Cf. *Suda* Σ322, s.v. τέως, where the present line is not quoted with the reading τέως.

8 κατα]λυων restored with S by reason of space: κωλύων F: κατακωλύων Weil (an attempt to reconcile the attested readings).

9 ουν suspected by Blass.

13 μεν τοινυ]γ restored with SF by reason of space: μέν A*: μέντοι Y*.

15 παρασκευ]αζ[ασθαι restored *exempli gratia* with SF: παρεσκευάσθαι Blass.

Fr. 5

]. [*Phil.* I 22

ταχειω]γ τρι[η]ρ[ων
 ημιν οπως ασφαλω]ε η δυναμ[ις
 πλεη ποθεν δη του]τοις η τ[ρο

1]. [, bottom part of a curve, expected to belong either to γ or ε.

3 Cobet proposed to add ἄν before πλέη, but there is no space for it in the papyrus.

Fr. 6 (unplaced)

ω . [
 ε . [
 τα . [
 .]αε[

1 . [, high blob of ink
 c or ω.

2 . [, λ or μ

3 . [, left-hand curve, most compatible with

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4765. DEMOSTHENES III 36

32 4B.1/N(1-2)a

2.9 × 4.0 cm

Second/third century

This fragment contains the ends of nine lines from one column; on average, the column must have had about 15 characters per line, and this would have been nearly twice the width of this fragment. Space after lines 2, 5, and 6 shows the right margin. The writing is along the fibres. Back blank.

The hand is a version of the 'Severe Style', written small and upright, and bilinear (ρ, γ, and sometimes τ descend below the line). α is angular, μ has a curved saddle, merging into the right upright, and the very small ο is raised in the upper part of the line. λ must have had a protrusion at the joint, which would otherwise be remarkably low where it partially appears in line 1.

Someone, probably a second hand, has added a circumflex accent in 2 and deleted a wrong iota adscript in 3.

There are no digressions in this fragment from the text of Demosthenes' third *Olynthiac* (which does not record any variations in this section), except a corrected error in line 3 (see below). There is no overlap between this papyrus and XV **1810**, which preserves different parts of the same lines.

.

υπερ υμω]ν αλλα κ[αι
 υμας υπε]ρ υμῶν αυ
 των αξιω][ι] πραττει[ν
 ταυτ εφ ο]ις ετερουσ
 5 τιματε] και μη πα
 ραχωρειν] ω ανδρες
 Αθηναιοι τ]ησ ταξεω[ε
 ην υμιν οι] προγονο[ι
 της αρετησ] μετα [

.

3 αξιω][ι]. See **4770** i 7–8 n.

D. KRASNE

4766. DEMOSTHENES IX (*PHIL.* III) 4–5

47 5B.46/G(1–3)c

3.1 × 7.2 cm

Second century

A fragment with right-hand (intercolumnium) and lower margins, of which 1.1 and 0.4 cm respectively are extant. The line averages 25 letters and was originally about 6 cm wide. The text is written across the fibres. On the back there are scanty remains of an account or register.

The script is rounded, small, narrow, upright, and of informal character. ε mostly with detached and long middle stroke; angular μ; cursive ζ written in one movement; π with curved legs; thin diamond-shaped φ. ρ, γ, and φ violate bilinearity. There is light decoration by means of blobs at the extremities of most letters. Some shading is noticeable. Such hands are assigned to the second century; cf. *GLH* 18a (c.138) and *PGB* 30a (second century).

The scribe made a supralinear addition in 3. There is a diaeresis (inorganic) in 15; short horizontal dashes as line-fillers are marked at the end of 1 (?), 2, 3, 4, 7, 8, and 11. *Scriptio plena* is used in 14. Of note is the word division in 6–7 (με|ν ουν).

The meagre amount of text preserved here and in **4767** does not throw any light on the problem of the ‘double redaction’ of the text of Demosthenes, for which Dem. IX is a test case. On this problem see Dilts’ preface, p. xvi with notes 30–1 (references).

.

 κυμβεβη]κεν εκ [του]του
 εν μιν ταις εκκλ]ησιαϊς τρυ
 φαν και κολακευεσθα]ι πάντα προς η
 δονην ακουουσιν εν] δε τοις πρα
 5 γμασι και τοις γιγνομε]νοισι περι των
 εσχατων ηδη κινδυ]νευειν ει με
 ν ουν και νυν ουτω δια]κεισθε ουκ
 εχω τι λεγω ει δ α κυμ]φερει τοις
 πραγμασι χωρις κολ]ακειας εθε
 10 λησεται ακουειν ετοιμ]οι λεγειν και
 γαρ ει πανυ φανλωσ τα] πρα[γ]μα
 τ εχει και πολλα προει]ται ομως
 εστιν εαν υμεις τα δε]οντα ποιειν
 βουλησθε ετι ταυτα π]αντα επαν
 15 ορθωσασθαι και παραδ]οξον μιν ἱ
 εως εστιν ο μελλω λεγ]ειν αληθεσ
 δε το χειριστον εν τοις] παρεληλυ
 θοσιν τουτο προς] τα μελλον
 τα βελτιστον υπαρχει] τι ουν εστ[ι

§5

8–9 τοις [πραγμασι with FY: τῇ πόλει AF^{op}: omitted in S.

14 ταυτα π]αντα with AY: πάντα ταῦτα SF.

18 The transmitted text is too short to fill the lacuna. It is just possible that the papyrus may have read υμιν after τουτο.

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4767. DEMOSTHENES IX (*PHIL.* III) 8, 19–20

88/161(b)+(c)

Fr. 2 4.3 × 11.6 cm

Second century
Plate VI

Two fragments of a roll, written along the fibres. The lower margin is extant to 2.2 cm in fr. 2. The reconstructed line averages 18–19 letters, and its width may be calculated as *c.*5.5 cm. The lines are well spaced; the interlinear area consistently measures 0.5 cm. On the back of fr. 1 and at right angles to the text on the front are preserved the beginnings of four lines of an unidentified literary text, perhaps in iambics: *ωσειε* . . . [2 *τασ* . . . [3 *καιτον* . [4 *αβουλια* [. There is a *paragraphus* under 3. The hand seems to belong in the third century.

The text is written in an informal, medium-sized round hand. Markedly round letters are *α* written in round loops, *κ* with curved arms, and *μ* with deep round saddle. *ε* has both the cursive elliptic form and the one consisting of two curves, even in succession (e.g. fr. 1 5), and ligatures with *ι* and *υ*. *η* and *θ* have high crossbars, which project, in the case of *θ*, in both sides. *β* and round *φ* are tall, the only letters which interrupt bilinearity. *ω* is broad. There is some ornamentation in the form of blobs, loops, and serifs. The hand could be assigned to the second century. It resembles *GLH* 13a (*c.*125) and 13b (first half of the second century); cf. also BGU V 1210, the *Gnomon of the Idios Logos* (= Norsa, *Scrittura letteraria*, Tav. 12b) of 150–61, and *GLH* 20b of 206.

Middle (fr. 2.1, 2, 11) and high (fr. 2. ?3, 5) points mark punctuation. No other lectional signs are preserved. *Scriptio plena* is generally preferred, but elision is made tacitly once (fr. 2.11).

There are no textual novelties.

Fr. 1

· · ·

§8

π]ροβαλλει τοις δ [εϱ
 γοις αυ]τος τοις του π[ο
 λεμου] χρηται τι λοιπ[ον
 αλλο π]λην αμυνες[θαι
 5 φασκει]ν δε ειρηνη[ν
 αγειω] ει βουλεσθε ω[

· · ·

1 π]ροβαλλει with S: προβάλλεται FAY.

δ [εϱ. Or δ[ε εϱ (cf. 5); there is room for one more letter in the break.

4 αμυνες[θαι with SFY: ἀμύνασθαι A.

Fr. 2

αμυνη]ζεθε ηδη· ζ[ω §19
 φρονησει]ν φημι· εα[ν δ
 αναβαλλη]ζεκε· ουδε τ[ουθ
 οταν βου]ληθεε δυν[ησε
 5 ζε ποιης]αι· και τοσο[υτον
 γ αφεστη]κα των α[λ
 λων ω αν]δρες Αθηνα[ιοι
 των κυμ]βουλευοντω[ν ως
 τ ουδε] δοκει μοι πε[ρι Χερ
 10 ρονησου] γυν σκοπειν [ουδε
 Βυζαντι]ου· αλλ επαμυ[ναι
 μεν του]τοις και διατ[ηρηη §20

1-2 ζ[ωφρονησει]ν restored with SF^a by reason of space: *ωφρονείν* AF^cY.

3 αναβαλλη]ζεκε with FY: *έάσητε* SA.

4-5 δυν[ησεεθε restored *exempli gratia* with SAFY: *δυνήσεσθαι* Reiske, adopted by modern editors.

6 The reconstructed line appears shorter than the rest. At its end a space-filler could have been inserted.

12 μεν του]τοις restored with SFY by reason of space: *μέν και τούτοις* A.

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4768. DEMOSTHENES XIV (*DE CLASSIBUS*) 2-3

100/135(f)

4.5 × 9.1 cm

Second century

A fragment of a roll with line-beginnings from the lower part of a column. Of the lower and left-hand side margin (intercolumnium) 2.6 and 1.5 cm respectively are extant. The line contained on average 21-2 letters; its length may be calculated as c.6.5 cm. The writing is along the fibres and the back is blank.

The text is written in a medium-sized upright, somewhat rounded hand. Bilinearity is violated only by β, ρ, χ. There is some ornamentation by means of serifs. The horizontal of τ and the mid-stroke of ε are extended and touch the next letter. The hand shows affinities with *GLH* 14 and Seider II 28 (both of mid-second century) and *GMAW*² 24 (ii cent.), and may be assigned to the second century.

Strong punctuation is marked by *paragraphus* below 8. In the margin 0.8 cm to the left of the first line there are traces in fainter ink, possibly offset.

There is a new but inferior word order in 10-11.

και [πεισαι τις παρασκευη και
 πο[ση και ποθεν πορισθεις
 χρη[σιμος εσται τη πολει πας
 ο πα[ρων φοβος λελυεται εγω
 5 δε το[υτ αν αρ οιος τε ω πειρα
 σομα[ι ποιησαι μικρα προει
 πων [υμιν ως εχω γνωμης
 περι τ[ων προς τον βασιλεα ε §3
 γω νομ[ιζω κοινον εχθρον
 10 ειναι απαντ[ων των Ελλη
 νων βασιλεα [ου μην δια τουτο
 παραινες[αιμ

1 πεισαι restored *exempli gratia* with SF^cAY^c: φράσαι F^aY^a.

3 εσται restored with SFY: ἔσται <νύν> A.

4 λελυεται restored *exempli gratia* with S: λέλυται S⁷FY: λυθήσεται A (cf. D. H. *De comp. verb.* 43.7): λέλυται φόβος Ex. 7. On these readings see R. Clavaud, *Démosthène: Prologues* (Paris 1974) 90 n. 1.

5 αν restored *exempli gratia* with SFY: ἄν A.

8 τον restored with SA by reason of space: omitted in FY.

9–11 κοινον εχθρον] ειναι απαντ[ων των Ελλη]νων βασιλεα: κοινὸν ἐχθρὸν ἀπάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἶναι βασιλέα SFAY [D. H.] *Ars rh.* 352.3–4: κοινὸν ἀπάντων ἐχθρὸν εἶναι τῶν Ἑλλήνων βασιλέα S 14.3: κοινὸν ἐχθρὸν ἀπάντων τῶν ὄντων Ἑλλήνων εἶναι βασιλέα [D. H.] *Ars rh.* 294.1–2: ἐχθρὸν ἀπάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων βασιλέα [Aristid.] *Ars rhet.* I § 98 (p. 138 Patillon). The word-order in the papyrus is inferior to that transmitted by the primary MSS, for it allows one to understand απαντ[ων των Ελλη]νων βασιλεα as 'the king of all Greeks'.

11 τουτο restored *exempli gratia* with SF^c [Aristid.]: ταῦτα AF^aY [D. H.] *Ars rh.* 294.2–3 and 352.5.

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4769. DEMOSTHENES XIV (DE CLASSIBUS) 8–10

27 3B.39/C(1–3)a

12.5 × 15.2 cm

Second/third century
Plate VII

The lower part of of two columns from what was an elegant roll. The writing is along the fibres. The back is blank. A *kollesis* runs down the intercolumnium.

The generous bottom margin preserved to c.6 cm and the intercolumnium averaging 2.6 cm reveal the pretensions of the book to beauty of appearance. Ten lines from the second column remain undamaged, while from the first column only line-ends are extant. The original column contained thirty-one lines in total; its height would have been c.15 cm. The width of the column approximates 5.6 cm.

The whole of Dem. XIV could fit in twenty-seven columns. If we allow 12 cm for top and bottom margins together, the dimensions of the roll, if it contained only this speech, could be calculated as $c.224 \times 27.6$ cm. But this would be a small roll; perhaps it included one or more of the ‘deliberative’ (*συμβουλευτικοί*) speeches of Demosthenes.

The script is an example of the earlier development of the ‘Severe’ or ‘Formal Mixed’ Style, medium-sized, fairly slow, and slightly sloping to the right. Letters tend to become smaller towards the end of the line. Bilinearity is infringed by λ (ii 5), ρ, τ, γ, and φ. The characteristic contrast between small round and large, mostly angular letters is in full display. ζ has its middle of the form of a comma; the horizontal of τ is extended leftwards at the beginning of the line; φ has a diamond-shaped bowl; ω has a wavy base. There are tiny serifs at the extremities of some horizontals and uprights. Slight shading is discernible in some fine horizontals, which contrast with slightly thicker verticals and obliques. One may adduce for comparison *GLH* 19b (first half of the third century) and 19c (202). Additionally, our hand is comparable to that of **I 23** (plate vi) and Seider II 33 (Taf. xvi), which seems later and whose *terminus ante quem* is 295.

A small filler-sign is written at the end of ii 10. Punctuation is indicated wherever marked in modern editions by means of a space equal to one letter for a shorter pause, and two letters for a stronger stop, in both cases along with a *paragraphus* under the first letter of the line where the pause occurs. Rough breathing is marked (off-centre, in different pen?) in ii 11, in the angular form 2 in Turner’s classification (*GMAW*² p. 11). Diaeresis (inorganic) is used in ii 8. Iota adscript is written wherever expected (i 7; ii 11). The treatment of elision is inconsistent: once it is marked by an apostrophe (i 10), once it is made tacitly (ii 3), while in another case *scriptio plena* appears (ii 6).

The papyrus offers two new but inferior readings (ii 2, 7–8). Pseudo-Dionysius’ variants (ii 9, 10–11) and a modern emendation (ii 5–6) receive no support. It is also worth noting that a reading of the papyrus (ii 10) recurs only in Y among the primary manuscripts. The word-order at ii 5–6 (in violation of Blass’s law), transmitted by the medieval tradition, is shown to be ancient.

Col. i

	η δεινον ειπειν φ]α	§8
	νηναι αλλ εκε]ινο	
	και χαλεπον και] προ	
	σηκον επι με]ν των	
5	κινδυνων τη]ν αν	
	δρειαν ενδεικ]νυ	

εθαι εν δε τ]ωι κυμβου

λευειν φρο]νιμωτερα

των αλλων] ειπειν ε

10 χειν ε]χω δ' ω ανδρες

§9

Col. ii (21 lines missing)

α[ρχειν νομιζω τον

μεν πολεμ[ο]ν δια [ταυ

τα παραινω μηδ εξ ε

νος τροπου προτερους

5 ανελεσθαι επι δε

τον αγωνα ορθως φη

μι παρασκευασαμε

νους υπαρχειν χρη

ναι ει μεν ουν ετε

10 ρος μεν τις τροπος >

ην δυναμεως ωι τους

§10

Col. i

3 και χαλεπον restored with SFY by reason of space: και omitted in A.

6 ενδεικ]νυ[εθαι restored with S on grounds of space: επιδεικνυεθαι AFY.

10 ω ανδρες. Crowding suggests that the scribe had initially omitted ω, which he later squeezed in the space left for punctuation. Demosthenes uses ω̄ with 90% of his vocatives, and the vocative ανδρες is usually preceded by ω̄ in this author; see E. Dickey, *Greek Forms of Address from Herodotus to Lucian* (Oxford 1996) 202–3.

Col. ii

2 μεν πολεμον: μεν δη πόλεμον SAFY.

3–4 μηδ εξ ενος with SFY: εκ μηθενος A. Cf. Isoc. *Phil.* 3 τῇ δὲ πόλει μηδ' ἐξ ἐνός τρόπου λαβεῖν αὐτήν.

5–6 δε τον with SAFY: τον δε Flagg. Flagg's emendation was prompted by the violation of 'Blass's Law'. For this rhythmic 'law', according to which Demosthenes avoided a sequence of more than two short syllables, see F. Blass, *Die attische Beredsamkeit* III/i (Leipzig 1893²) 105–12, and D. F. McCabe, *The Prose-Rhythm of Demosthenes* (New York 1981) passim, esp. chapter 4. McCabe concluded that 'Blass's Law' is generally valid, though exceptions range from 5% up to 16% in some cases (pp. 127–9). However, the strict application of this 'law' to the transmitted text of Demosthenes functioned as an impediment in earlier scholarship; see D. M. MacDowell, *Demosthenes: Against Meidias* (Oxford 1990) 80–2, S. Usher, *Demosthenes: On the Crown* (Warminster 1993) 26–7 n. 58, and K. Dover, *The Evolution of Greek Prose Style* (Oxford 1997) 175–7.

7–8 παρασκευασαμενους: παρεσκευασμενους SFAY. The new reading is inferior to that transmitted by the primary manuscripts in terms of sense. The perfect participle in SFAY expresses an enduring result, which suits the context better.

9 ουν with SAFY: τούνυν [D. H.] *Ars rh.* 353.12.

10 μεν with Y: omitted in SAF. The papyrus agrees with Y in offering an interesting reading.

ἔτερος μὲν matches ἔτερος δέ (§10.5); μὲν could have been omitted at this point in SAF, because its position in close proximity to εἰ μὲν οὖν (§10.3) might have been considered awkward.

10–11 τις τροπος ην with SA: ἦν τις τρόπος FY: τις ἦν τρόπος [D. H.] *Ars rh.* 353.13.

11 ὡι with SAFY: ἦ [D. H.] *Ars rh.* 353.13.

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4770. DEMOSTHENES XVI (*PRO MEGALOPOLITIS*) 10–11

112/123(a)

10.5 × 9.8 cm

Second/third century

An abraded fragment of a papyrus roll with eleven lines from the top of a column and scanty traces from a following column. The top margin is 2.8 cm and the intercolumnium 1.5 cm. Part of the left margin of col. i also survives, measuring 1.8 cm. The column is 6.3 cm wide, and averages 20 letters per line. A *kollesis* is visible between the columns, about 2.2 cm from the right-hand edge. The back is blank.

The text is written in a fairly strictly bilinear, small, irregular, and rightward-sloping hand, to be classified as an informal specimen of the ‘Severe Style’. The initial letter of each line is enlarged, and even more conspicuously the letter beginning col. i (Δ, which has a broad base and starts with a loop); for the latter practice see *GMAW*² p. 7 and n. 25. There is some decoration by means of tiny serifs. One may adduce for comparison *GLH* 19c of 202, and perhaps *GLH* 22c, ‘written at a date not very distant from 200’. Thus, the hand of our piece could be assigned to the late second or early third century.

Elision is effected tacitly in 4 and 10. Iota adscript is written superfluously in 7. Strong punctuation by means of high point is used in 4. Its ink suggests that it was not marked *currente calamo* but after writing; it is not certain whether two different hands are at work. The corrections in 3 and 9 are in darker ink, but they could have been made by a scribe who corrected his own errors, after having finished with the writing of the text. The same hand certainly wrote the superscript α in 2. Traces above the initial letter of 4 suggest a *paragraphus* or a critical mark, which could be related to the correction in 3 or the strong punctuation in 5.

The papyrus overlaps with M. Cahir. olim Berol. (= P. Berol.) 13274 (= M–P³ 270), a parchment codex of the fifth/sixth century, with which it shares several readings.

Col. i

δε σκοπειν μεν και πρατ
 τε[ω] `άει τ[α] δικαία συμπα
 ρατηρε[ι]ν δ ο[[ς]] `πῶς αμα και
 συμφεροντ εσται ταυτα ες
 5 τι τουνυ και τριουτος

§11

τι]ς λογος παρα των αντιλεγῶ
 των] ως κομισαῖσθαι τον ωι
 ρωπον] ημας ενχειρειν δει
 ει δε τους β]οθηθης[[α]]'όντας αν
 10 ημιν νυ]ν επ αυτον εκ[θρουσ
 κτησομεθα ουχ ε]ξομ[εν κυμ

Col. ii (unplaced)

. [.
 [.
 .] . . [.
 ζω [.
 5 . . [.
 . [.
 . [.
 .] . [.

ii 1 . [, part of short slanting dash 3] . [, two low traces: one or two letters
 two specks of ink 6 . [, scattered specks of ink, perhaps all part of a rounded letter 7 . [,
 upper part of vertical 8 . [, speck of ink

i 1–2 και πραττε[ι]ν 'ἀει with P. Berol. 13274 SA: ἀεὶ καὶ πράττειν FY.

5 και τοιουτος with AFY: κ before τοιουτος P. Berol. 13274: καί omitted in S. B. Hausmann, *Demosthenis fragmenta in papyris et membranis servata* i, Diss. Leipzig 1921 = Pap. Flor. IV (Firenze 1978) 66, notes that καί joined with τοίνυν would seem superfluous, but it certainly adds more weight to the argument.

7–8 ωι[ρωπον]. The iota adscript is superfluous. For the erroneous addition of ι to ω in documentary papyri, see Mayser, *Grammatik* i.12 112–4, and Gignac, *Grammar* i 183, 185–6.

8 ενχειρειν (l. ἐγχ-) with P. Berol. 13274 SAFY: ἐπιχειρεῖν Weil.

9 β]οθηθης[[α]]'όντας with P. Berol. 13274 A^cF^cY^a: βοηθήσαντας SA^aF^aY^c.

αν: ν corrected from η?

αν with AFY: add. *supra lineam* P. Berol. 13274: omitted in S. The future participle with ἄν is exceptional and very often corrupt; see Kühner–Gerth, *Griechische Grammatik* i 242, LSJ s.v. ἄν A.iv.4; cf. also Dem. XIX 342. Hausmann, *op. cit.* 66, thinks that the original reading was not the aorist participle with ἄν expressing a future hypothesis, but the simple future participle (βοηθήσοντας); this could have very early been misspelled as aorist participle (βοηθήσαντας), and then ἄν was added, in an attempt to improve the reading.

10 νυ]ν επ αυτον εκ[θρουσ: νυνει παυτον εκθρουσ P. Berol. 13274: ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐχθρούς (om. νὺν) A Voemel: νὺν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐχθρούς S: ἐχθρούς ἐπ' αὐτὸν νὺν FY. P. Berol. offers a corrupt reading but in the same direction with our papyrus. In S the ending of ἐπ' αὐτούς is influenced by the noun that follows.

ii 7 ζω[. The word to be restored would be one among *σωτηρίας* (12.5), *κόμασι* (12.6), *κόζειν* (12.7), *σωθέντες* (12.8), *σωτηρίας* (12.9), *ἐρώθησαν* (13.3).

R. HATZILAMBROU

4771. DEMOSTHENES XVI (*PRO MEGALOPOLITIS*) 24–5

66 6B.4/P(1–2)f

Fr. 1 4.8 × 8.9 cm; fr. 2 6.3 × 6.4 cm

Third century
Plate XI

Two fragments from the same column of a papyrus roll, with top and left hand margins of 2.6 and 1.2 cm respectively. The restored line averages 14–15 letters, and the column-width 6 cm. The interlinear space is 0.3 cm. The text is written along the fibres and the back is blank.

The hand is an upright, medium-sized specimen of the ‘Severe Style’. α is angular, and its right diagonal stroke is extended, so that it makes contact with the following letter; Δ rests on a long baseline; μ has a shallow belly; φ has an elliptical-shaped bowl; ω has a wavy base. The general impression of bilinearity is violated by ρ, φ, γ, and more gently τ and κ. There is some contrast between thick and thin strokes. Small blobs, curls, and hooks are added to the extremities of some strokes. For such a hand a date in the early third century is suggested; cf. VII **1016** = *GLH* 20a (above p. 23).

Punctuation is marked by middle stops in 10 and 17; in 17 the stop is combined with *paragraphus* to indicate strong pause (another *paragraphus* may have been lost in the break below 10; abrasion may have concealed a middle point in 21), and comma in 15. Elision is not effected in 5. To judge from ink and letter shape, a correction in 9 (a smallish ν added above ι—but this itself seems to have been deleted or re-inked) is by the original scribe. A faint short dash of unknown function is discernible in the left-hand side margin, c.1 cm before 3.

The text offers no novelties and agrees inconsistently with varying groups of the MSS.

Fr. 1

	απ]αντ[ε[ς] τ[ουθ οτι	§24
	τα μεν δι[καια παν	
	τες εαν και μ[η βου	
	λωνται μεχ[ρι του	
5	γε αιχχυνο[νται μη	
	πραττ[ειν] τ[ο]ι[ς δ α	
	δικο[ι]ς ε[να]ντ[ι]οις	
	ται φαν[ε]ρω[ς αλλως	
	τ]ε κα[[ι]]ν' τινες βλαπτων	

10 ται· κα[ι τουτο
 one line missing

Fr. 2

]. . . [
]. [c.2] ν ἀρχην ου
 καν απαντω[ν των
 15 κακων, το μη [θε
 λειν τα δικαια [πρατ
τειν απλως· [ι] ν[α τοι
 νυν μη του[τ εμπο
 δων γενητ[αι τω Θη
 20 βαιους γενε[σθαι μι
 κρ[ο] υς τας μ[εν Θεσπι
 ας και τ[ον Ορχομε
 ν[ον
 . [

§25

4 του restored with S by reason of space: *τούτου* AFY. The latter reading is corrupt (cf. Dem. I 7).

6 τρι very uncertainly read.

6-7 *αδικο[ι]ς* with SA: *ἀδικούσιν* FY.

10 The space would allow *τό* after *τούτο* with AFY^a: omitted in SY^c.

12]. . . [. Traces from the bottoms of letters, variously assignable.

13 [c.2] ν ἀρχην: *ταύτην ἀρχήν* SFY: *ταύτην τήν ἀρχήν* A.

14 *απαντω[ν]* with A: *πάντων* SFY.

19 *τω* restored with SAY^c by reason of space: *τῶ τούς* Y^a: *τὸ τούς* F.

R. HATZILAMBROU

IV. DOCUMENTARY TEXTS

4772–4778. DOCUMENTS RELATING TO CLAUDIA ISIDORA ALIAS APIA

The following eight texts all refer to Claudia Isidora also known as Apia or to her estate. They are additional to the fifteen or so papyri already published in which she or her estate is mentioned. For an up-to-date list of these texts and a discussion of some of the problems which they raise, especially the dating, see *BASP* 41 (2004) 139–153. All the papyri belong to the first half of the third century, the earliest exactly datable being **4772** (27 December 213 – 25 January 214) and the latest P. Oslo III 111 (February 235). Isidora owned substantial property in Oxyrhynchus and the Oxyrhynchite, including houses in the city (see P. Oslo III 111 and **4778**) and land in several different toparchies. Whether she also owned property in the Small Oasis and the Arsinoite is less certain: see *BASP* 41, 148–50. For earlier discussions of her estate see Hugh MacLennan, *Oxyrhynchus* (Princeton 1935) 39–42, M. Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* (Oxford 1957²), 674 n. 48, 747 n. 61; more recently it has been discussed by Dennis P. Kehoe, *Management and Investment on Estates in Roman Egypt* (PTA 40: Bonn 1992), 124–6, 137–9, and Jane Rowlandson, *Landowners and Tenants in Roman Egypt* (Oxford 1996) 379 (index).

The most important piece of new information in the texts here published is the name of Isidora's father, Claudius Apianus (**4772** and **4776**). He was a Roman and Alexandrian citizen; in addition he had held high office in the administration of the city: see **4772** 9–10 and 13–14. No doubt Isidora had her principal residence in Alexandria. She is attested with the epithets ἀξιολογωτάτη (XII **1578** iii 21 with XIV **1630** 3 n.), κρατίστη (**4774** 3) and λαμπροτάτη (**4775** 14), as well as by the words καὶ ὡς χρηματίζει (P. Yale I 69.7 with BL VII 283, P. Col. X 276.3, XLI **2997** 5, and **4772** 2). That these three different adjectives can be applied to her would seem to imply that they were mere terms of respect and not indications of a specific social or legal status.

We already knew that her property passed to the fiscus at some point, at the latest by summer 225 (see XXXI **2566** with XLIII **3103** I n.). We still do not know whether the property was confiscated by the government for some reason or whether it passed to the fiscus because Isidora had died without legal heirs (for which see P. Gnomon §4). **4774** could be interpreted as pointing to the former as being more likely, see the introduction to this text.

4772. APPLICATION TO NOTIFY REGISTRATION OF A LOAN

29 4B.45/G(1-2)a

(a) 13.5 × 15 cm

27 December 213 – 25 January 214

(b) 2.5 × 5 cm

The papyrus consists of several fragments, all of which bar one join to form (a). The other fragment, (b), cannot be joined but must belong below line a.21. It is incomplete on all four sides, whereas (a) is complete at the top and right. The loss at the left is of some 14 letters per line and can usually be supplied with confidence from parallel documents. The writing changes to a somewhat larger and slightly less cursive script in line 12. This is unexpected, but it seems more likely that what follows is the work of a different scribe rather than the same scribe writing with a different pen (cf. also 12 n.). The back is blank.

The text belongs to a well-known type. A certain Lucius had borrowed from Claudia Isidora a sum of 3000 drachmas by a contract in the form of a *χειρόγραφον* (11 ff.). Isidora, through her secretary, applies to the *archidicastes* to register this *χειρόγραφον* in the public archives at Alexandria (*δημοσίωσις*) and to have a copy of it issued to the other party to the contract (*μετάδοσις*); lines 7–11 record the start of this application, the rest of which would have been in the lost part of the papyrus (see the notes to fragment (b)). Lines 4–7 record a copy of the instruction from the *archidicastes* to the *strategus* to effect the delivery of the copy. In lines 1–4 Isidora presents the whole documentation to the *strategus* for the necessary action to be taken.

On *δημοσίωσις* see H. J. Wolff, *Das Recht* 129–35, who refers to the voluminous bibliography in n. 109 on p. 129; see also O. Primavesi, *ZPE* 64 (1986) 99–114. The class of document to which 4772 belongs is analysed in the introduction to XII 1472, where similar texts are listed (see also Wolff's notes 112a, 118, and 120). The closest parallel to 4772 is the contemporary XII 1474; other parallels are IV 719, XII 1560, XVII 2134, BGU II 578 (M. Chr. 227, Meyer, *Jur. Pap.* 46), P. Matrit. 2, P. Mich. XI 614, 615 (= SB XXIV 16265), SB XVI 12333, 12698. These all contain (or would have contained if complete) the application to the *archidicastes*, his instruction to the *strategus*, and the application to the *strategus*; BGU 578 also contains an instruction from the *strategus* to his *ὑπηρέτης* to carry out the *μετάδοσις*. Other requests for *δημοσίωσις* are XII 1561, BGU II 455, III 717, PSI XII 1238, P. Lips. I 10 (M. Chr. 189), P. IFAO III 12, P. Meyer 6, SB I 5692, XVIII 13974, XX 14447, XXII 15325, 15383. These contain the application to the *archidicastes* but not his instruction to the *strategus* (with the exception of P. Meyer 6) nor the application to the *strategus* (though one cannot always be sure of this if the start of the document is lost). In other texts the application to the *archidicastes* for *δημοσίωσις* is quoted inside requests for the information to be passed to the *βιβλιοφύλακες*: IX 1200, XII 1475, CPR VII 14; cf. P. Stras. V 370. As Primavesi points out (loc. cit. 101–3), loan

contracts often differ from other applications for δημοσίωσις in that they ask not just for registration of the document in the public archives but also that the *strategus* be required to inform the borrower that registration has taken place and that the creditor will proceed to recovery of the debt unless it is repaid. Of the above documents the following are loans: XII **1474**, **1561**, XVII **2134**, BGU 578, P. Lips. 10, P. Meyer 6, P. Mich. 614, SB 13974 and 15325.

The clauses in the loan itself (lines 11 ff.) can all be more or less exactly paralleled in loans from Oxyrhynchus in the Roman period. Reasonably close parallels are III **507** and P. Ups. Frid 3; the latter has full notes on the individual clauses. For recent bibliography on loans see P. Louvre I, pp. 106–7.

The papyrus is the first text to inform us of the name of Isidora's father, who was a Roman and Alexandrian citizen who had occupied important civic offices at Alexandria: see 2, 9–10 and 12.

- (a) *Αὐρηλίω Ἄνου]βίωνι στρ(ατηγῶ) Ὀξυρυγί(του)*
παρὰ Κλαυδίας Ἰσιδ]ώρας τῆς καὶ Ἀπίας καὶ ὤ[ε] χρημα[τίζε]ι θυγατρὸς Κλαυδίου
Ἄπιανου
καὶ ὡς ἐχρημάτι]ζεν διὰ Αὐρηλίου Σαραπίωνος γραμ[ματέ]ως. οὗ ἐπόρισα ἐκ τοῦ κατα-
λογείου χρηματι]μοῦ ἐστὶν ἀντίγρα(φον). Κλαύδιο[ε] Θεοδώρ[ο]ς ὁ ἱερεὺς καὶ ἀρχιδικαστῆς
5 *στρ(ατηγῶ) Ὀξυρυγί(του) χαίρειν. τῆς τετελειωμένη[ε] δημοσιώσεως ἀντίγραφον μεταδο-*
θήτω ὡς ὑπόκειται. ἔ]ρρωσο. (ἔτους) κβ Αὐρηλίου Σεουήρου Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος τοῦ
κυρίου Τύβι
.. Αὐρήλιος Ἄρπο]κρατίων εσση(μείωμαι) (δραχμὰς) .. Κλαυδίω Θεοδώρῳ ἱερεῖ
ἀρχιδικαστῆ καὶ πρὸς τῆ
ἐπιμελεία τῶν χρη]ματιστῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κριτηρίων παρὰ Κλαυδίας Ἰσιδώρας τῆς
καὶ Ἀπίας θυγατρὸς Κλ]αυδίου Ἄπιανου γενομένου γυμνασιάρχου καὶ ὑπομνηματογράφου
10 *τῆς λαμπροτάτης] πόλεως τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων καὶ ὡς ἐχρημάτι]ζεν. τοῦ προειμένου*
μοι δισσοῦ(?) χειρο]γράφου ἀντίγραφον ὑπόκειται. Λούκιο[ε] . . . ε[ο]υ τοῦ Λουκίου
μητρὸς Ἀρ-
ε.6 (m. 2?) ἀπ' Ὀξυρύ]χων πόλεως Κλαυδίω Ἰσιδώρῳ τῆ καὶ Ἀπί]α μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ πατρὸς
Κλαυδίου Ἄπιανου] ἐωνίου γυμνασιάρχου τῆς λαμπροτά]της πόλεως τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέ-
ων ε.9 ὑπ]ομνηματογράφου καὶ ὡς χρηματί]ζει] χαίρειν. ὁμολ(ογ)ῶ ἐσχηκένα
15 *παρὰ σοῦ διὰ Ἀσκλ]ηπιάδου χειρις[το]ῦ σου διὰ χειρὸς ἀργυρί[ο]υ Σεβαστοῦ νομίματος δρα-*
χμὰς τρισεχίλια]ς γέινονται [δραχ]μαὶ τρισεχίλια κεφαλαίου αἷς οὐδὲν προσ-
ῆκται τόκου . . .]ωβολείου ἀργ[υρικοῦ ἐκάς]της [μ]νᾶς κατὰ μῆνα ἕκαστον ἀπὸ τ[οῦ
ὄντος(?) μηνὸς Φα]μενώθ. ἀποδ[ώσω δέ σοι] τὸν μὲν προκειμένον τόκον κατὰ μῆνα
ἕκαστον, τὸ δὲ κε]φάλαιον τῆ λ [τοῦ Μεσορ]ῆ τοῦ ἐνεστῶ[τος . (ἔτους)] χωρὶς ὑπερθέσεως.
20 *εἰ δὲ μή, ἐκτίσω ε]σοι μεθ' ἡμιολί[ας σὺν τοῖς . . .] ε.5]ιας ἴσοις τόκοις κατὰ*
ε.7 τῆς πράξ]εως σοι οὐ[ε]ς ἕκ τε ἐμοῦ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων μοι πάντων] καθά-
[περ ἐκ δίκης. κύριον τὸ χειρόγραφον δισσὸν(?) γραφὲν πανταχῆ] ἐπιφερόμενον καὶ]
παντὶ τῷ ὑπὲρ σοῦ] ἐπιφέρω]ντι.

c.15]...ι...[
 25 c.14].[.]...μ[
 c.14].[.]...ρ[

A small fragment is now missing but is on a photograph. It contained some 3 letters towards the right-centre of lines 4-9.

1 cτρσοξυρυγχι̅ 4 αντιγρ̅ 6 L 7 cεcη̅ 8 ισιδωραc: first c a correction
 9 υπομνηματογραφου: initial υ a correction 12 ἱσιδωρα 13 εωνιου: ε remade
 or corrected; l. αἰωνίου 14 ομολω 16 l. γίνονται, τριςχίλιαι

(b)

.
].κ[.]...δ[
].μϵ.[.]...[
].ου ἀπλοῦν [
] καὶ μη[
 5]. ἀναλαβόντ[ac
]...[

‘To Aurelius Anubion *strategus* of the Oxyrhynchite.

‘From Claudia Isidora also called Apia and however else she is styled, daughter of Claudius Apianus and however else he was styled, acting through Aurelius Sarapion her secretary. Here is a copy of a document that I have obtained from the record-office: Claudius Theodorus, priest and *archidicastes*, to the *strategus* of the Oxyrhynchite greetings. Let a copy of the completed registration as follows be delivered. Farewell. Year 22 of Aurelius Severus Antoninus Caesar the lord, Tybi . . . I, Aurelius Harpocraton, have signed, X drachmas.

‘To Claudius Theodorus, priest, *archidicastes*, and in charge of the *chrematistae* and of the other courts, from Claudia Isidora also called Apia, daughter of Claudius Apianus, former gymnasiarch and *hypomnematographus* of the most splendid city of the Alexandrians and however else he was styled. A copy follows of the chirograph issued to me in two(?) copies.

‘Lucius son of . . . the son of Lucius, whose mother is Arsinoe(?), (2nd hand?) ‘of the city of the Oxyrhynchi, to Claudia Isidora also called Apia, with as guardian her father Claudius Apianus, perpetual gymnasiarch of the most splendid city of the Alexandrians, former(?) *hypomnematographus* and however else he is styled, greetings. I acknowledge that I have had from you through your agent Asclepiades from hand to hand in imperial silver coin three thousand drachmas, total three thousand drachmas, as a capital sum to which nothing has been added, at a rate of interest of . . . silver obols on each mina for each month, from the current(?) month of Phamenoth; and I will repay you the afore-said interest each month and the capital sum on the 30th of Mesore in the current . . . year without delay; if not, I shall pay you with an additional one half, together with equal interest also for the time beyond the repayment date each month(?), the right of execution being for you from me and from all my possessions as though after a legal decision. The chirograph, written in two(?) copies, is enforceable, wherever it may be produced and for everybody who produces it on your behalf. . . .’

a.1 Ὀξυρυγγί(τ)ου is written with *Verschleifung*. Aurelius Anubion is attested as *strategus* of the Oxyrhynchite from 212/13-216; see Guido Bastianini, John Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes of*

Roman Egypt 97. To the references given there add SB XX 14289 (213); probably also P. Col. X 276, see N. Gonis, *ZPE* 129 (2000) 179, but see also *BASP* 41 (2004) 141–2.

2 καὶ ὦ[*c*] χρημα[τί*ζ*ε]ι. The expression is used of Isidora also in XLI **2997** 4, P. Col. X 276.3 and P. Yale I 69.7 (see BL VII 283).

θυγατρός Κλαυδίου Ἀπιανού. The information as to the name of Claudia Isidora's father is new (see also **4776**). Hitherto we only had the evidence of XIV **1634** 4, where all that is preserved of her father's name and description is -ο]υ καὶ ὡς ἐχρημάτιζεν. He does not appear to be attested elsewhere. It is noteworthy, but in no way surprising, that he was a distinguished Alexandrian: see 9–10 and 13–14.

3 διὰ Αὐρηλίου Καραπίωνος γραμ[ματέ]ως. This confirms the suggestion by N. Gonis, *ZPE* 129 (2000) 179, to read Αὐρηλί[ο]υ [Κα]ραπίωνος in P. Col. X 276.2. He also occurs in **4775** 12–13.

ἐπόρισα. For this word, which is characteristic of documents from the Oxyrhynchite, see P. Heid. IV 325.4 n.; other nomes use παρεκόμισα (SB XX 14635.3, which uses παρεκομίσαμεν, though found at Oxyrhynchus, see A. Hanafi, *Pap. Congr.* XIX i 562, relates to the Heracleopolite nome).

3–4 On the καταλογεῖον see Wolff, *Das Recht* 28f.

4 Κλαύδιο[*c*] Θεόδωρ[ο]*c* ὁ ἱερεὺς καὶ ἀρχιδικαστῆς. Previously unattested; see the lists of *archidicastae* in P. Theones, Appendix B, and P. J. Sijpesteijn, K. A. Worp, *ZPE* 110 (1996) 181 f. P. Heid. IV 325 contains an instruction from the *archidicastes* to the ξενικῶν πράκτωρ, which is exactly a year later than our papyrus (Tybi, 214/215), but the *archidicastes* is not the same. The office of *archidicastes* has not been studied since A. Calabi, *Aegyptus* 32 (1952) 406–24. For his function in documents such as the present text, see W. E. H. Cockle, *JEA* 70 (1984) 116–18.

5–6 τῆς τετελειωμένη[*c*] δημοσιώσεως ἀντίγραφον μεταδοθήτω ὡς ὑπόκειται. The only exact parallel is XII **1474** 4–5 (216), where see the note. Usually the *archidicastes* uses the expression τοῦ δεδομένου ὑπομνήματος ἀντίγραφον κτλ. (e.g. L **3557** 2). In BGU II 578.4–5 the applicant asks the *strategus* to communicate to the other party δημοσιώσεως χρηματισμοῦ ἀντίγραφον (cf. BGU II 614.4 with BL I 56). When τῆς τετελειωμένης δημοσιώσεως occurs elsewhere it is part of a request to the *archidicastes* to communicate to the βιβλιοφύλακες that δημοσίωσις has taken place (IX **1200** 7, XII **1475** 5; cf. CPR VII 14.8); this does not seem to be the case in **1474** or the present text.

6 For the omission of the *praenomen* Marcus in the imperial titles, see P. Heid. IV 325.7 n.

7 In XII **1474** 6 the same man occurs, where his name is given as Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Ἀρποκρατίων [*sic*]. Although the κ is only partially preserved in **4772**, ρ is a less likely reading. If the full name was used in **4772**, there must have been some abbreviation; but it is more likely that we should supply the day of the month at the start of the line.

(δραχμας) . . . The figure is very uncertain; only the tops of three strokes survive, of which the first two well suit κ. Elsewhere the amount (which is only mentioned in a few documents) varies, but is never as high as 20+: 14 dr. (XII **1474** 6), 12 dr. (PSI XIII 1328.9), 5 dr. (XVII **2134** 5 and BGU 578.8 with **1474** 6 n.), and 4 dr. (P. Heid. IV 325.8) are all attested. It is unclear what the payment represents and whether it has anything to do with the standard 12 drachmas payable to the city of Alexandria when registration took place; see the notes to **1474** 6 and P. Heid. 325.8.

10 The use of ὡς ἐχρημάτιζεν here as opposed to ὡς χρηματίζει in 14 proves that Isidora's father was dead by the time she applied for δημοσίωσις but had been still alive when she entered into the loan contract.

11 The reading Λούκιο[*c*] Λούκι[ο]υ τοῦ Λουκίου is possible. For his mother's name, Ἀρ[*c*]ινός is the most likely supplement, though there are other possibilities.

12 The diaeresis over the initial ι of ιδιωρα, which does not occur in the first 11 lines, supports the view advanced in the introduction that a different hand is responsible for the document at this point onwards.

13 On αἰώνιοι γυμνασίαρχοι, see **4776** A 2–3 n.

14 We should perhaps supply *γενομένου* before *ὑπομνηματογράφου*, even though Apianus was still alive at this time (see 10 n.).

15 On Asclepiades *χειριστής*, see 4777 3–4 n.

17 *τριωβολείου* is the commonest rate, but other rates are attested. The addition of *ἀργυρικού* is unusual; I have noted only two other instances, PSI XIII 1328.34 and P. Stras. I 52.13.

18 *ὄντος* is short for the lacuna, but *ἐνεστῶτος* is too long. *(ε)ϊσιόντος* is a possibility.

20–21 Of the two closest parallels at this point, III 507 18–21 reads *ὦν τοῖς καὶ τῆς ὑπερχρονείας ἴσοις δρα[χ]μιαίοις τόκοις ἐκάστης μῆνας κατὰ μῆνα*, and P. Ups. Frid 3.9–10 *ὦν τοῖς καὶ τοῦ ὑπερπεπόντος χρόνου ἴσοις δραχμιαίοις τόκοις ἐκάστης μῆνας κατὰ μῆνα*. No doubt, therefore, we should supply *τῆς ὑπερχρον(ε)ίας* before *ἴσοις τόκοις*, perhaps with *καί* omitted; but it is unclear what letters the traces visible in the middle of the line are part of. These parallels suggest we should supply simply *μῆνα* at the start of 21, even though this is short for the space. The omission of *ἐκάστης μῆνας* is also unexpected.

22–3 No trace of line 22 remains. The restoration follows the wording found in several Oxyrhynchite texts of about the same date, e.g. P. Merton I 25.19–22 (214), SB XII 11228.33 (204). If it is on the right lines, we expect the date of the contract to follow and after this (probably) the subscription of the person contracting the loan. This should then be followed by the request to the *archidicastes* for *δημοσίωσις* (see the notes to (b)).

b.3]ου ἀπλοῦν [P. Mich. XI 614.33–4 begins the request clause *βουλόμενοι δὲ ἀπὸ [τοῦ δι]σσοῦ χειρογράφου μοναχὸν ἐν δη[μο]σίῳ γενέσθαι* (so P. Mich. XI 615.17). As φ suits the trace at the start, it is tempting to supply *χειρογρά]φου* here, with *ἀπλοῦν* for *μοναχόν*. Against this is the fact that all documents of this type use *μοναχός* not *ἀπλοῦς*. None the less, the words would appear to be synonymous: compare X 1260 17–19, *κυρία ἢ ἀποχή (τρισεῆ) γραφεῖσα, ἣν ἐξεδόμην σοὶ μὲν τῷ στρα(τηγῷ) δισσην τῷ δὲ δεκαπ(ρώτῳ) μοναχῆν*, with XVII 2125 30–2, *κυρία ἢ ἀποχή (τρισεῆ) γραφεῖσα, σοὶ μὲν τῷ τιτολόγῳ ἀπλῆ τῷ δὲ στρα(τηγῷ) δισσην*.

4 *καὶ μη[δεμιᾶς ἀποδόσεως γεγούσιας* springs to mind (as, e.g., P. Meyer 6.21–2, XII 1472 26); but this should precede *βούλομαι* and so would not suit the suggestion in the previous note.

5 It is the occurrence of *ἀναλαβον-* that guarantees that this fragment belongs to the sentence requesting *δημοσίωσις*. This invariably begins with *βούλομαι* (or the participle), followed by *ἐν δημοσίῳ γενέσθαι*, and then by *ἀξιῶ ἀναλαβόντας κτλ.* (e.g. P. Mich. XI 614.33ff., XII 1475 41ff.). There is a slight problem in that it is not easy to read τ before the break. More seriously, the trace at the start does not resemble ω; it appears to be ι, but *ἀξιῶ* does not seem likely. It might suit ν, but in this text we do not want *ἀξιούμεν*. Perhaps the writer vacillated between first singular and first plural, as happens, for example, in P. Mich. 614.

J. DAVID THOMAS

4773. REQUEST FOR PAY

29 4B.45/F(5–6)b

18 × 16.5 cm

220/1 or 224/5
Plate VIII

The papyrus is complete at the top and the left, and also at the right in the first 13 lines. It is incomplete at the foot and has suffered damage in several places, especially in the last eight surviving lines. For the most part the text can be reconstructed with confidence, since the entries are repetitive. On the back is 4774.

Aurelius Apollonius, a *φροντιστής*, applies to Aurelius Heraclides, an *ἐπίτροπος*, to authorise the payment of wages to *ὕδροπάροχοι* and *ἀμπελουργοί* for the past third year. The request itself was made in year 4 and refers to the month Hathyr (3). Although Claudia Isidora is not mentioned, there is no doubt that the papyrus relates to her estate: on the back (4774) is a petition sent by three of Isidora's *ἐπίτροποι*, including Aurelius Heraclides (see also 1 n.). As the text dates before her estate passed to the *fiscus* (see general introd.), year 4 must belong either to the reign of Elagabalus (220/1) or to that of Severus Alexander (224/5).

The text is similar to XII 1577 and 1578, both requests from *φροντισταί* to *ἐπίτροποι*. For a full text of cols. ii and iii of 1578, see L. K. Kaufman, *BASP* 3 (1965/6) 30–1 (the text has not been republished in SB); but note that she does not give the corrected reading of Grenfell and Hunt in XIV 1630 3 n. (= BL I 336). Both 1577 and 1578 relate to the estate of Claudia Isidora (see 1 n.). 1577, like 4773, is addressed to Aurelius Heraclides; 1578 is sent to a different *ἐπίτροπος*. The requests ask for payment for various items, including salaries (*ὀψώνια*).

On estates in Egypt in the pre-Diocletianic period, see Dennis P. Kehoe, *Management and Investment on Estates in Roman Egypt During the Early Empire* (PTA 40: Bonn 1992), and Dominic Rathbone, *Economic Rationalism and Rural Society in Third-Century A.D. Egypt* (Cambridge 1991). Kehoe discusses the estate of Isidora on pp. 124–6 and 137–9; Rathbone is primarily concerned with the estate of Appianus but has much useful comparative material. 4773 provides some additional information on the extent and organisation of Isidora's estate in the Oxyrhynchite nome. It concerns vineyards situated in at least two different *κτήματα*. It is particularly important for the evidence it brings for the remuneration received by *ὕδροπάροχοι* and *ἀμπελουργοί* (see 9–10 n.).

	Αὐρηλίω	Ἡρακλείδη	ἐπιτρόπῳ
	παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Ἀπολλωνίου φροντ(ιστοῦ) Νήσου.	αἰτοῦμαι ἐ[π]ι[σ]τα]λῆν[αι]	
	εἰς μῆνα Ἀθύρ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος δ (ἔτους).	ἐστὶ δέ.	
	Ἀ[ρ]άχθη ὕδροπ[αρ]όχ(ω) κτ[ή]ματος η. Νήσου ὑ[π]έρ μισθ(οῦ) τ[οῦ] δι[ε]λ(θόντος)		
5	γ (ἔτους) ἀπὸ (δρ.) . υ[. . .] . μεθ' [ἀ]ς ἔσχ(εν) κατὰ μέρος (δρ.) Ἄσ	αἰ λοιπαὶ	
	. . γ()	(δρ.) . σβ=	
	ἀφ' ὧν ὑπὲρ φ[ό]ρων καὶ ἄλ(λων) γ (ἔτους) (γίνονται?) (δρ.) Ἄρ.		
	Πόλει ἐτέρῳ [ὕδ]ρ[οπ]αρ[όχ(ω)] τοῦ αὐτοῦ κτήματος λης Νή[σου] ὑπὲρ		
	μισθ(οῦ) τοῦ διελ(θόντος) γ (ἔτους) ἀπὸ (δρ.) Δψνγζ μεθ' ἀ[ς] ἔσχ(εν) κατὰ μέρος (δρ.) Ἄρ		
10	αἰ λοιπ(αὶ)	(δρ.) Ἰχνγζ	
	ἀφ' ὧν () ὑπὲρ φόρων ἀργυρικ(ῶν) τοῦ διελ(θόντος) γ (ἔτους) ἐπὶ λόγου (δρ.) Ἄφ.		
	Πανεχώτη καὶ Πτολλᾶτ(ι) ὕδροπ(αρόχοις) κτήματος υεν διὰ τῶν κληρονόμων		
	ὑπὲρ μισθῶν ὕδροπ[αρ]οχ(ίας) τοῦ [δ]ιελ(θόντος) γ (ἔτους) ἀπὸ (δρ.) Ἰψνζζ μεθ' ἀς ἔσχ(ον)		
		κατὰ (μέρος)	

(δρ.) . . . [.] *vacat* [] *vacat* [] . . . []
 15 ἀφ' ὧν [. . . ὑπὲρ φόρω]ν καὶ ἀλ(λων) [. . .] (δρ.) . . . []
 Ὁρκενοῦφι α. [c.15]ς Νήσου ὑπέ[ρ] μ[ι]θ(οῦ) []
 ἀ[πὸ] (δρ.) Ἰψ[υ] [c.17] . . . (δρ.) . τ . . . []
 Κοπ[ρ]εῖ ἀμπελ(ουργῶ) κτή[μα]τος c.7] . ὑπὲρ μισθ(οῦ) [τοῦ δ]ιε[λ]θόντος γ (ἔτους) ἀπὸ (δρ.)
 μ]εθ' ἅς ἔχ(εν) κατὰ μέρ[ο]ς (δρ.) .]ρμη αἰ λ(οιπαῖ) [(δρ.)
 20 c.4 ἀ]μπελ(ουργῶ) τοῦ [αὐτοῦ κτήματος]ερουε. ὑπ[ε]ρ μισθ(οῦ)
] . . []

2 φρον ^τ	3 <i>et passim</i> } = ἔτους	4 υδροπ[αρ]ο ^χ	μισθ ^θ	δ[ι]ε ^λ	5 <i>et pas-</i>
<i>sim</i> } = δραχμαί	ε ^χ	6 . . γ'	7 α ^λ γ ^ς -}	9 μισθ ^θ	διε ^λ
γυρι ^κ	διε ^λ	επι ^λ	12 πτολλα ^τ υδρο ^λ	13 υδροπ[α]ρο ^χ	[δ]ιε ^λ
16 μισθ ^θ	18 αμπε ^λ	μισθ ^θ	19 ε ^χ	αι ^λ	20 α]μπε ^λ
					11 αρ-
					10 λοι ^λ
					15 α ^λ
					ε ^χ κατα ^τ

'To Aurelius Heraclides, overseer, from Aurelius Apollonius, manager of Nesus. I request to be authorised (to pay) for the month Hathyr of the current year 4, as follows:

'For Harachthes, provider of water for the property of Megale(?) Nesus, for wages for the past year 3: out of (a total of) 4,402 dr. 2 ob.(?), which includes the 1,200 dr. he received in instalments, the remaining 3,202 dr. 2 ob.(?) in money(?); out of which he owes(?) 1,100 dr. for taxes etc. of year 3.

'For Polis, another provider of water for the same property of Megale(?) Nesus, for wages for the past year 3: out of (a total of) 4,753 dr. 4 ob., which includes the 1,100 dr. he received in instalments, the remaining 3,653 dr. 4 ob.; out of which he owes(?) 1,500 dr. for money taxes of the past year 3 on account.

'For Panechotes and Ptollos, providers of water for the property of Peruen(?), through their heirs, for wages for the provision of water in the past year 3: out of (a total of) 3,757 dr. 4 ob., which includes the . . . dr. they received in instalments . . . ; out of which they owe(?) for taxes etc. . . .

'For Orsenuphis, vine dresser(?) of the property of Megale(?) Nesus, for wages . . . : out of (a total of) 3,750+ dr. . . .

'For Copres, vine dresser of the property of Peruen(?), for wages for the past year 3: out of (a total of) . . . , which includes the 1,148 dr.(?) he received in instalments, the remaining . . .

'For . . . , vine dresser of the same property of Peruen(?), for wages . . .'

1 *Ἡρακλεῖδῃ*. The papyrus is badly frayed here and the reading, though probable, is not wholly certain. Heraclides also occurs as an *ἐπίτροπος* in **4774** and **XII 1577**. On the latter Grenfell and Hunt comment 'Written in the 2nd year of an unnamed Emperor, the reign being very likely the same as that in **1578** (4th year) which was found in the same mound and may refer to the same estates'. **4773** and **4774** confirm their suggestion regarding the estate, which in all three texts is that of Claudia Isidora. **XII 1577** can therefore be included among papyri relating to her. The 2nd year mentioned there could belong to Elagabalus, Macrinus, or Severus Alexander. On *ἐπίτροπος* = overseer, see **4774** 1-2 n.

2 **4773**, **XII 1577** and **1578** confirm that Isidora's estate was divided into units called *φροντίδες* managed by *φροντισταί*, just like the estate of Appianus, on which see Rathbone, *op. cit.* 22-43 and 71-82 (cf. Kehoe, *op. cit.* 97).

Νήσου. P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati dell'Ossirinchie* (Pap. Flor. IX: Florence 1981) 119-21, refers to several places with this name in the Oxyrhynchite, but gives only one example where it is used without

an additional qualifying word: P. Mert. I 27.15, where it is a place big enough to have a Serapeum (for the provenance of this text see BL VIII 207). A *κτῆμα* in the Oxyrhynchite called *Νῆσος* has subsequently been attested in P. Mich. XVIII 792.9, see below (8 n.). In SB I 1967 a *κώμη Νήσων* is attested, and in P. Nephros the same location is sometimes called *Νῆσος* and sometimes *Νῆσοι*, see pp. 11–12; this *κώμη* may also occur in LIX 4004 10. SB 1967 is an ostrakon found in Oxyrhynchus, but it may be the place of this name in the Heracleopolite (see 4004 10 n.). A *μηχανὴ Νήσου* occurs in XVI 1911 60 = LV 3804 133. There is a reference to an *ἀμπελ(ουργῶ) κτήματος Νήσου* [in SB XIV 11908.15; the provenance may well be the Oxyrhynchite, but there could easily be a qualifying word in the lacuna after *Νήσου*. In the present text it appears that *Νῆσος* does not refer to a *κτῆμα* but to a larger area under the control of a *φροντιστής*, which includes at least two *κτῆματα*; cf. also 8 n.

4 *ὑδροπ[αρ]όχ(ω)*. The provision of water (*ὑδροπαροχία*) occurs in two different contexts in the papyri: (1) For the artificial irrigation of vineyards and garden land (so here). On this see Danielle Bonneau, *Le Régime administratif de l'eau du Nil dans l'Égypte grecque, romaine et byzantine* (Leiden 1993) 216–20, who points out that the evidence becomes much more plentiful in the Byzantine period and suggests that the practice only became of administrative importance from the time of Diocletian onwards; cf. also Rathbone, op. cit. 219–28. (2) For the provision of water to municipalities, especially for the baths; on this see Wolfgang Habermann, *Zur Wasserversorgung einer Metropole im kaiserzeitlichen Ägypten* (Munich 2000) passim, and M. Drew-Bear in Bernadette Menu (ed.), *Les Problèmes institutionnels de l'eau en Égypte ancienne* (IFAO, Bibliothèque d'étude 110: 1994) 157–68.

The most recent list of *ὑδροπάροχοι* is in LXVII 4591 8 n. (where correct PSI XVII Congr. to P. Mil. Congr. XVII); see in addition *BASP* 5 (1968) 101–2 and P. Heid. V, p. 26. In the first three centuries AD I have noted only IV 729 13, XVII 2098 verso, 2128 2, XIX 2241 12, 41, XXXVIII 2877 4, XLIX 3515, 3516, BGU I 14 ii 7, vi 7, P. Mil. Congr. XVII, p. 51 = SB XVI 12732.16, PSI VIII 947.20, 25, SB XIV 11908.9; cf. XVIII 13174.12.

κτ[ῆ]ματος. As Rathbone, op. cit. 33, remarks, the word (in the papyri) usually refers to a vineyard and is often translated thus, but 'more precisely a *ktēma* was a walled enclosure as opposed to the open fields'. No doubt it applies to vineyards in the present text in view of the occurrence in 16(?), 18 and 20 of *ἀμπελουργοί*. The name of this *κτῆμα* was perhaps *Μεγάλη Νῆσος*: see 8 n.

5 The figure before *μϵθ'* should end *νβ=*, since the amount already received is 1,200 dr. and the balance certainly ends *ϵβ=* (6). There is no difficulty in reading the *ν*, but there seems to be too much space for just *β=* thereafter. The figure for thousands is uncertain, but looks more likely to be *Δ* (as in 9), rather than *Β* or *Γ*; line 6 is no help, as there little more than the apostrophe indicating thousands survives before *ϵβ=*.

6 *γ()*. I can only suggest *ἀργ(υρίου)*. The reading is not difficult, but it is odd to find the word placed so far away from the drachma symbol. There is nothing to correspond with this in 10 (14 is unclear).

7 After *δν* only indeterminate spots of ink; see 11 n. Later a raised *λ* is clear and there is no difficulty in reading *α^λ* as in 15. What follows is uncertain: there appears to be the symbol *Ϛ*, with a horizontal line before and after it. Easiest, perhaps, is to take *Ϛ* here as for *ἔτους* and the stroke before it as the top of a *τ*, even though we should expect *τοῦ διε^λ* to precede as elsewhere. The line after this, before the drachma symbol, would normally indicate *γίνονται*, though this seems out of place.

On the payment of *φόροι* by *ὑδροπάροχοι* and *ἀμπελουργοί*, see 11 n.

8 *Πόλει*. The name is not common; see P. Monac. III 89.6 n. *Παλεί*, cf. LXI 4128 14, and *Πατέι*, see P. Mich. IV, index s.v. *Πατέις*, are less likely.

[*ὑδ*]ρ[*οπ*]αρ[*όχ(ω)*]. The traces are minimal, but do not conflict with the reading, which is what we expect in view of *ἔτέρω*.

τοῦ ἀγ(). An uncertain reading but one that suits what is required at this point. If right, we must have the same name for the *κτῆμα* here as in 4. *λης* suggests *Μεγάλης*, which, though far from

certain, is plausible, reading in 4 *Με[γά]λης* and in 8 *Με[γ]άλης*. For places in the Oxyrhynchite nome with the epithet *μέγας*, see Pruneti, *op. cit.* 101–2. She quotes no example of *Μεγάλη Νήσος*. SB XVI 12732.11, an Oxyrhynchite text, appears to refer to a *μεγάλου νήσου* [*sic*]. It would be somewhat strange if the men were said to be working in the *κτῆμα* of *Μεγάλη Νήσος*, whereas the *φροντιστής* is in charge of the *Νήσος* without further qualification, which is clearly a larger area than the *κτῆμα*.

It is in no way surprising that a *κτῆμα* should be called *Νήσος*, cf. SB XIV 11908 quoted above (2 n.). P. Mich. XVIII 792, a contemporary Oxyrhynchite text (221) is particularly interesting: a lessee refers in lines 8–9 to *οὐ ἔχω ε[ο]ν ἐν* (see *CR* 49 (1999) 237) *μισθώνει ἀμπελικοῦ [κτῆ]ματος Νήσου καλουμένου περὶ π[ό]λιν*. This cannot be the *κτῆμα* occurring in the present text, since the lessee is leasing it from an Aurelia Herais. In his note McCarren comments: ‘Vineyard and orchard properties were often named “Nesos” or “Island”—no doubt, in part, because they were situated on higher ground, so that, during the inundation of the Nile, such properties gave the appearance of being like islands, standing, as they did, above the flooded fields.’ He refers to P. Nepheros, pp. 11–12, and to Marie Drew-Bear, *Le Nome Hermopolite* (ASP 21: Missoula 1979) 43, who remarks: ‘Une *νήσος* correspond à une *guezireh* de l’Égypte moderne’, quoting further bibliography.

9–10 In these lines the figures are clear and prove that Polis was due a remuneration for the year of 4,753 dr. 4 ob. The amount payable to Harachthes in the previous entry may well be comparable (see 5 n.), but in the next entry two *ὑδροπάροχοι* are allocated only 3,757 dr. 4 ob. between them. The amounts for Polis and Harachthes seem to be very high, even if we assume that the amounts represent the total of the pay they were due for the year; cf. the annual salaries listed in Hans-Joachim Drexhage, *Preise, Mieten/Pachten, Kosten und Löhne im römischen Ägypten bis zum Regierungsantritt Diokletians* (St. Katharinen 1991) 430. In XII 1578 *φροντισταί* employed by Claudia Isidora ask for payment of monthly salaries (*ὀφίσνια*) of 126 and 128 dr., i.e. not much more than 1,500 dr. per annum; and the *φροντιστής* in XII 1577 asks for only 180 dr. for three months’ salary. Amounts payable to various workmen for tasks involved in supplying water to Ptolemais Euergetis, all much lower than those in 4773, are given in Habermann, *op. cit.* 271, but none is described as a *ὑδροπάροχος*. In SPP V 96 (266/7) men responsible for supplying water to Hermopolis (their title is not preserved) claim 1,500 dr. from the city for three months’ work; see the re-edition of this text by M. Drew-Bear (article cited in 4 n.), and the comments by Habermann, *op. cit.* 96ff. 3,383 dr. 2 ob. were paid to *ὑδροπάροχοι* in XVII 2128 2 (assigned to the late 2nd cent. in the *ed. pr.* but to late 2nd/early 3rd in the republication as Sel. Pap. II 407), presumably by the municipal authorities at Oxyrhynchus. In IV 729 13ff. (137) the text is incomplete and not wholly clear. The lessor has made an advance of 3,000 dr. mentioning payment to *ὑδροπάροχοι*. The editors, followed by Bonneau, *op. cit.* 216, and Rowlandson, *Landowners and Tenants* 234, consider that 2,000 dr. out of this was for paying the *ὑδροπάροχοι*; Kehoe, *op. cit.* 135, regards the whole advance as payable to them. Bonneau comments ‘cette somme élevée [i.e. 2,000 dr.] suppose un bon nombre d’irrigateurs’. The amount of 120 dr. payable to a *ὑδροπάροχος* in BGU I 14 vi 7 (255) may be just an instalment or payment for a small amount of work only (even though it is said to be payment for *μισθοφορά* for the current year). Should we suppose that the payments in 4773 are not, as they would appear to be, for single individuals but for a team headed by the named individual?

11 The reading after *ὄν* needs to be considered along with that in 15 (7 is no help), where *α* is the most likely reading for the first letter of the word following, but *ο* is also possible. The latter would suggest a form of *ὀφείλω*; the former perhaps *ἀναλίσκω* or the passive of *ἀφαιρέω* or *ἀπολαμβάνω*. The severely abraded traces in 11 are insufficient to confirm the reading *οφείλ* or to rule out alternatives. *ὀφείλ(ει)*, however, derives some support from XIX 2241 12–13 and 41–2, where entries concerning a *ὑδροπάροχος* state *ὀφείλ(ει) ὑπὲρ ἐκφορίων καὶ φόρων τοῦ ἐνεστ(ῶτος) β(ἔτους) κτλ.*; cf. also IV 732 4–5: tax-farmers say *ἔσχομεν παρ’ ὑμῶν ἀφ’ ὧν [ὀ]φίλετε ἡμῖν ὑπ[ε]ρ φόρου προθμείου* (l. *προθμείου*) *Πανκύλεως ἐπὶ λόγου δραχμὰς διακ[ο]σί[α]ς*. The editors of 2241 regard the entries as

payments of rent, but Bonneau, *op. cit.* 217, describes the text as ‘un rôle d’impôts dûs par les cultivateurs d’une *ousia*’. Taxes seem more plausible than rents in the present papyrus.

12 ε . . . υεν. It is virtually certain that the name ends in -εν (-ων cannot be read). The reverse index of place names in the Oxyrhynchite ending with these letters in Pruneti, *op. cit.* 241, gives only Περοεν and Περουεν, which Pruneti regards, no doubt rightly, as two versions of the same name (pp. 146–7). Περουεν is described as a κτήμα in SB XVI 12732 (2nd/3rd cent.), as is Περοεν in XVIII 2197 145. In XVI 2038 16 Περουεν is called an ἐποίκιον; it is also attested in XVIII 2204 5 (these three texts are 6th/7th cent.). In P. Oxy. Hels. 50.5 it appears to be a personal name. This is likely to be the name we have here, reading Περουεν, although this may not account for all the ink. See also 20 n.

14 No doubt this followed the same pattern as 10, with αι^λ written somewhere in the part that is lost. The traces of the figures are too slight to permit any plausible readings. Of those at the right only the apostrophe for thousands survives in the first figure.

15 For the reading after ων see 11 n. Between α^λ and the drachmas symbol there is space for two letters; but nothing is visible and probably nothing was written.

16 α . [. By analogy with 18 and 20 we expect ἀμ[πελουργῶ]. What is written after the α is not quite like the writer’s usual μ, but this may be the letter intended. If this was abbreviated to αμπε^λ, as in 18 and 20, there might just be room for κτήματος Μεγάλη]ς to follow, or κτήματος may have been abbreviated. There would be room to supply τοῦ διελ(θόντος) γ (ἔτους) at the right.

17 The figure for thousands is broken; ρ seems the most likely of the plausible alternatives. What survives at the right is unclear. Possibly κατ]α^τ, i.e. κατὰ (μέρος) (as in 13), followed by (δρ.) ἄτ and α^λ, i.e. αἰ λ(οιπαί). If so, we should no doubt supply μεθ’ ἅς ἔσχεν in the lacuna. If this entry is for an ἀμπελουργός (see the previous note), the total remuneration for the year of 3,750+ dr. seems high, like the amounts for ὑδροπάροχοι, although there would appear to be no comparable evidence for the pay of ἀμπελουργοί at this period (the amount of 3,329 dr. 3 ob. recorded in P. Mert. I 27.17, a third-century account, seems to be the total expenditure, not the pay of the ἀμπελουργός mentioned in the preceding line). A few documents deal with work on vineyards (see P. Heid. V, pp. 222–5) and some of these record amounts payable; but none refers specifically to ἀμπελουργοί.

18 ἀμπελ(ουργῶ). On ἀμπελουργοί, see P. Mayerson, *BASP* 40 (2003) 187–90. They frequently occur along with ὑδροπάροχοι, e.g. XLIX 3515, 3516, SB XIV 11908, XVI 12732, PSI VIII 890, and often in late Byzantine texts. In P. Wisc. I 12 a ὑδροπάροχος acts as surety for an ἀμπελουργός. It is interesting that there is no room in this entry for the addition of the clause concerning φόροι. This is true of the preceding entry as well, which probably also concerns an ἀμπελουργός (see 16 n.). On the name of the κτήμα, see 20 n.

20 The name of the ἀμπελουργός must have been short. Following ἀ]μπελ(ουργῶ), τ is oddly made, but spacing suggests we require the reading τοῦ αὐτοῦ. If this is right, the name of the κτήμα must have occurred before, presumably in line 18. There only part of the final letter survives, which could be part of ν or c. The reading in 20 points strongly to Π]ερουεν, as in 12, but I hesitate to put it in the text, since the final ν is far from easy to read.

J. DAVID THOMAS

4774. DRAFT OF A PETITION

29 4B.45/F(5-6)b

19 × 17 cm

November 221-4
Plate IX

There is a large margin of 5 cm at the top and one of 2 cm at the left; the papyrus is complete at the right and it is quite likely that nothing has been written after line 14. It is badly damaged in places, especially in lines 10-14. The first writer wrote no more than two-thirds of the top line before a second writer took over and completed the document. Both hands are good examples of official cursives of the period. On the front is **4773**.

Two *ἐπίτροποι* of Claudia Isidora and one former *ἐπίτροπος*, acting through his son, protest against what they describe as the illegal (*ἀνόμως*, 4) imposition of seals by the *strategus* on property belonging to Isidora. They state that they had already appealed against the *strategus*' action, and they now send this further petition asking that the seals be removed. See further on the *ἐπίτροποι* 1-2 n. The addressee of this petition, which is clearly only a draft written on the back of a document that had already been used, is not stated, but must have been the prefect, like the addressee of the earlier appeal: see the note to τὸ δὲ μέγεθος (7-8).

The petition was drafted in Hathyr, some time after the 13th and before the end of the month (7). It has no year date, but possible years can be deduced from three factors. (1) It must belong before Isidora's property passed to the fiscus, i.e. not later than summer 225 (see general introduction). (2) It falls within the period when Aurelius Harpocraton was *strategus* of the Oxyrhynchite and is therefore later than September 216 (see 5 n.). (3) It is presumably later than the document on the front. This refers to Hathyr of a current 4th year, which must belong to the reign of either Elagabalus or Severus Alexander, i.e. either 220/1 or 224/5. If the former, the papyrus could have been reused as early as November 221 (November 220 is not really feasible). It is tempting to speculate that the imposition of seals on some of Isidora's property, which was an official act authorised by the *strategus*, was connected with the events that led to her property coming into the control of the fiscus; see further 4-6 n. It would therefore make good sense if the date of **4774** was November 224.

π(αρά) Αὐρηλίων Παραπάμμωνος τοῦ κα[ί] Διονυσ[ί]ου (m. 2) καὶ Ἡρακλείδ[ο]υ ἀμφο-
τέρων ἐπιτρόπων καὶ Ἀπολλων[ίου] διὰ τ[οῦ] υἱοῦ Παρὰ γενομένου
ἐ[πιτ]ρόπου Κλαυδίας Ἰσιδώρας τ[ῆς] καὶ Ἀπίας τῆς κρατίστης.
π[ρὸ]ς τὰς ἀνόμως ἐπιτεθείσας .[.].[c.6] . . . τ[ο]ῦ Ὀξυρυγχείτου
5 ε[πι]τ[ρο]π[ο]ῦ Ἀρποκρατίωνος διὰ Παρπίωνος γραμματέως αὐτοῦ
ἐνίοις τόποις τῆς εὐχρήμονος ἐν τῷ Ὀξυρυγχείτῳ νομῶ φραγεῖδα[ς]
τῆ γγ̄ τοῦ ὄντος μηνὸς Ἀθὺρ ἐξεκαλεσάμεθα αὐτόθι ἐπὶ τ[ὸ] δὲ

μέγεθος καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῇ ἐκκλήτῳ νόμιμα ἐνπροθ[ε]μωσ
 ἐπράξαμεν· ὅθεν οὐδεμίας ζητή[ε]ωσ οὔσης πρὸς τὴν εὐς-
 10 χήμονα] οὐδὲ κελ[ε]υθέντος [ὑπὸ] τ[ῆ]ς ἡ[γε]μονίας . π' ἄλλου τινὸς
 α.6]υ το[ῦ]το γ[ε]νέσθαι τ. . [α.10] . στ. . . [. .]ν ξαυτῶ[ν
 α.5] . ι . πρᾶξαι ἐ[πι]δίδ[ο]μεν τὸ βιβλίον] ἀξιοῦντες διακοῦσα[ί
 σε ἡμῶ]ν [πρ]ὸ[ς] αὐτόν, ἐν το[κού]τω δὲ α.6] (m. 3) τ[ῆ]ς τύχης' . . ξη [κελ]εῦσαι
 τῶ στρ]α[τηγ]ῶ ἀφελέσθ[αι] ἅ α.5] ἐπέθηκεν [σφ]ραγεῖδας.

1 π/ 2 υἱου 3 ἰδιωρασ 4 l. Ὀξυρυγίτου 5 κρ of αρποκρατιωνος
 a correction? 6 l. Ὀξυρυγίτη 6, 14 l. σφραγίδας

'From Aurelii Sarapammon also called Dionysius' (2nd hand) 'and Heraclides, both overseers, and Apollonius through his son Saras, former overseer, of Claudia Isidora also called Apia, most excellent lady.

'Against the seals unlawfully affixed recently(?) by Harpocraton the *strategus* of the Oxyrhynchite through his secretary Sarapion on certain properties of the noble lady in the Oxyrhynchite nome on the 13th of the current month Hathyr, we lodged an appeal straightway with your highness and we carried out the lawful procedures in respect of the appeal within the time-limit; therefore, since there have been no proceedings against the noble lady and no orders have been given for this to happen by the prefect's office . . . we present the petition asking you to hear us against him, and in the meantime, if it so please(?) your fortune, to order the *strategus* to remove the seals which he has unlawfully(?) affixed.'

1-2 Sarapammon alias Dionysius is attested as an ἐπίτροπος of Isidora in XII **1578** (see also *BASP* 3 (1965/6) 30-1). The latest date there mentioned is 20 Choiak of a year 4; this must correspond to either 16 December 220 or 224. An Aurelius Sarapammon alias Dionysius occurs in P. Mich. XI 604, a contemporary Oxyrhynchite text (223), as one of two people appointed to the liturgy of *αιτολόγος* for the village of Phthochis in the western toparchy. It is possible that he is our man, but note that another Aurelius Sarapammon alias Dionysius from Oxyrhynchus occurs in IX **1204** 5, who cannot be our man since he was still alive in 299.

Heraclides also occurs in **4773** 1, where see the note. Apollonius, who was presumably deceased when **4774** was written, does not seem to be attested elsewhere, unless he occurs in XIV **1659**. This account of crown-tax, dated between 218 and 221, has as its first entry (5) *παρὰ ? Κλα]υ(δίας) Ἰσιδώρα τῆς κ(αι) Ἀπίας (δραχμὰς) ελς*. The start of the next line is lost; what survives begins *Ἀυρηλίου) Ἀπολλωνίου* which may refer to her ἐπίτροπος of this name. However, Isidora also had a *φροντιστής* with the same name: see **4773** 2. His son Saras may well occur in XIV **1634** of 222. This is a document concerning the sale of property to Claudia Isidora *διὰ Ἀυρηλίου Καρᾶ βουλευτοῦ τῆς Ὀξυρυγχειτῶν [πόλεως]* (3-5). If this is the same Saras, it is noteworthy that the son of one of Isidora's ἐπίτροποι was a town councillor.

These ἐπίτροποι are to be understood as overseers responsible for managing the various estates that belonged to Claudia Isidora, not guardians appointed to look after her affairs because she was a minor or incapable. ἐπίτροποι who manage estates are found quite often in the Heroninus archive: see Dominic Rathbone, *Economic Rationalism and Rural Society in Third-Century A.D. Egypt* 58-71, esp. 62-3; cf. also Dennis P. Kehoe, *Management and Investment on Estates in Roman Egypt*, Index s.v. (p. 182). In SB XVIII 13167 recto col. ii there are several references to ἐπίτροποι ἢ φροντισταί connected with an estate. Grenfell and Hunt describe Sarapammon and Heraclides as overseers in their introduc-

tions to XII 1577 and 1578. Kehoe, op. cit. 124, is mistaken in describing Sarapammon in 1578 as 'a guardian or epitropos representing the heirs of Claudia Isidora'; this comes from the erroneous reading κλ(ηρονόμων) in the *ed. pr.*, repeated in the republication by L. K. Kaufman, *BASP* 3 (1965/6) 30–1, an error that Grenfell and Hunt corrected in XIV 1630 3 n (= BL I 336). That no fewer than three ἐπίτροποι are found acting for Isidora in the Oxyrhynchite shows how substantial a landowner she was there and may also indicate the seriousness with which the affixing of seals on her property was regarded.

3 τῆς κρατίστης. Elsewhere Isidora is described as ἀξιολογώτατη (XII 1578 iii.2: see XIV 1630 3 n.) and λαμπροτάτη (4775 14, sec note); cf. the general introduction.

4–6 Affixing seals to property is referred to not infrequently in the documentation. In P. Cair. Isid. 77.16–18 the same words occur as in the present text: τὰς δὲ ἐπιτεθείσας σφραγίδας τοῖς τόποις ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς τῶν [δ]ρφ[α]νῶν . . . [ἀ]φῆρησαν. This refers to property left by the deceased and to the removal of the seals thereon by the guardians of the children of the deceased. Similar documents referring to affixing seals on property of deceased persons include P. Mil. Vogl. VI 264.8–10, P. Ryl. II 121.9–11, P. Gen. I² 3.11–17 (*M. Chr.* 122), CPR VII 34, P. Brem. 40. However, all these texts refer explicitly or by implication to action by private persons. In our text the *strategus* must be assumed to be acting in his official capacity (even though the petitioners claim that his action was illegal). Parallels for such official action are P. Tebt. III 793.xii.25–6, τὸν ἐν τῇ προστάδι οἶκον ἐσφραγισμένον ὑπὸ Ἀρμάιος τοῦ τοπογραμματέως; P. Cair. Zen. II 59275.2–5, οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς τετάρτης [εἰςβιασά]μενοι τὴν οἰκίαν ἡμῶν παρεσφραγίσαντο; P. Gen. III 133.4–5, οὐχ εὕρισκομ[έν]ον δ' αὐτοῦ παρεσφραγίσαμεν (sc. officials of some sort) τὴν οἰκίαν τῆ] γ' τοῦ ὑποκειμένου μηνός. These are all Ptolemaic texts. From the Roman period there is P. Brem. 26, a petition from village *πρεσβύτεροι* concerning the murder of an εἰρηνοφύλαξ; the addressee must have been the *strategus*, as Wilcken says, who is asked to *κελεῦσαι ἐπι[σφραγ]ισθῆ[ν]αι αὐτάς* (sc. certain houses). In the present text *τόποι* must refer to buildings or parts of buildings, for which see Geneviève Husson, *OIKIA: Le Vocabulaire de la maison privée* (Paris 1983) 276–8.

4 After ἐπιτεθείσας we have traces of two letters before the lacuna, either to be read as [.] or as .[.]. The second trace is part of a long descender. π[α]ρ[] is possible, suggesting a noun in the dative. π[α]ρ[αγγελία] might just be accommodated (π[α]ρ[αγγέλματι] is certainly too long); the word is usually used to mean 'summons' in papyri but is occasionally used of an official instruction, cf. *Wörterbuch* s.v. (1). If we suppose a broad first letter and read .[.], ἄρ[] is a possibility, with ὑπὸ τῶν to follow.

5 For the *strategus* Harpocration see Bastianini and Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes of Roman Egypt* 97–8. To the references there given add LII 3694 (undated) and probably P. Col. X 276 (see 4772 a.1 n.). He is attested between late Sept./Oct. 218 and April 225. The latest certain date for a predecessor is late Aug./Sept. 216, and the earliest date for a successor is June 225 (references in Bastianini–Whitehorne). This gives the extreme limits for 4774; but the date can be narrowed down somewhat, see introduction.

7 τῇ γ' τοῦ ὄντος μηνός Ἀθύρ. It is uncertain whether this is to be taken with what precedes or with what follows, i.e. whether it refers to the date at which the seals were affixed or the date on which the appeal was submitted. In view of αὐτόθι after ἐξεκαλεσάμεθα, we should perhaps take it with what precedes, the petitioners insisting that they appealed immediately against this action. For this meaning of αὐτόθι, see *Wörterbuch* s.v. (3). If so, since they are petitioning before the end of the same month, they are not allowing much time for action to have been taken. There are several texts in which petitioners indicate that they are submitting their appeal without delay, e.g. XLVII 3350 13–14, φθάννω δὲ π[α]ρ[]αὐτὰ καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς τοὺς ὑ[π]οβαλόντας με εἰς ἐξηγητῖαν ἐκκαλ[οῦ]μενος, apparently κατὰ τὴν ἐνεστῶσαν [ἡμέρ]α[ν] (9). On time limits, see 8–9 n.

7–8 ἐπὶ τ[ο]ῦ δὲ μέγεθος. A very early use of μέγεθος, on which see P. Bingen 107.4 n. The use of this word guarantees that the petition, as well as the earlier appeal, was addressed to the prefect.

According to Taubenschlag, *Law of Greco-Roman Egypt*² 522 n. 16, ἔκκλητος (8) in the pre-Diocletianic period is only used of appeals to the prefect.

8–9 N. Litinas, ‘Official Deadlines in the Documentary Papyri of Roman Egypt’, *APF* 45 (1999) 69–76, gives a useful collection of time-limits attested in the papyri (which all appear to be multiples or subdivisions of 30). He does not list any example that is particularly close to the situation in **4774**. Closest, perhaps, are two of the examples included by him under the heading ‘claims’, P. Amh. II 80 and 82, which are appeals against official action. In P. Amh. 80 the petitioner says he has been illegally shut up in the λογιστήριον and requests release from κατοχή; in a fragmentary context the words ἐντός τῶν ὀρισ]θεισῶν ἡμερῶν occur (line 16). P. Amh. 82 is an appeal against appointment to a liturgy (the text is republished by F. Mitthof, *Pap. Congr. XXI* ii 716–18); the petitioner says that he returned home too late to get in his appeal in time, τῷ καὶ τὰς ἡμέρας τὰς νενομισμένας . . . παρεληλυθέναι (10–11). See further Wilcken, *Grundzüge* 352–3 and F. Oertel, *Die Liturgie* 392–3. Also relevant is XLIX **3507** 33–5, a private letter in which the writer tells the recipient that he (the recipient) must go before the tribunal ἐνεκεν τῆς ἐκκλήτου πρὸ τῆ[ς] προθεσμίας κατὰ τὸ διάταγμα; there is in addition a Latin edict BGU II 628 recto = M. Chr. 371 = ChLA X 415 (col. ii. 14–16), *apella[tio]nes uero quae ad magistratus et sacerdotia et alios honores pertinebunt habe[ant fo]rnam tem[po]ris sui*. Taubenschlag, *op. cit.* 521–2, says that in the Roman period an appeal had to be lodged within 15 days, but he does not quote his evidence for this statement. It is possible that he is thinking of XII **1408** 1; there, however, the time limit of 15 days is fixed for one specific case and the text does not imply that such a limit was the norm, rather the reverse.

τὰ ἐπὶ τῆ ἐκκλήτῳ νόμιμα. Cf. IX **1204** 8: ποιήσας τὰ ἐπὶ τῆ ἐκκλήτῳ δέοντα. On ἔκκλητος, see P. Panop. 29.13 n. (*ZPE* 10 (1973) 138).

9 ζητήσ[ε]ως. The word seems more likely to be used here in the sense of ‘legal proceedings’, rather than ‘enquiry’; see *Wörterbuch* s.v. (4).

10 .π’ ἄλλον τινός [.c.6]ν. The slight trace of the letter before π is indeterminate and would allow ἀπ’, ἐπ’, or ὑπ’ (but there is no room for an additional letter, so that ἡ ὑπ’ is impossible). One might think of ἐπ’ ἄλλον τινός [ἐπιτρόπος]ν or [γεούχος]ν ‘nor has it been ordered . . . that this happen in the case of any other ἐπίτροπος/γεούχος’, but neither sounds convincing.

11 εἰσὶν αὐτῶν. For ἡμῶν αὐτῶν? Even so, it is hard to see how to make sense of this passage. εἰσὶν αὐτῶν is equally possible, but seems even less likely to make sense.

12 τὸ βιβλίον. τὰ βιβλίδια]a does not suit the traces and τὸ βιβλίδιον]ν is too long.

13 We must of course have the normal ἐάν σου τῆ τύχη δόξῃ, but it is hard to see how to read this. I suggest that the original text had ἐάν σοι δόξῃ and that this was altered to the (politer?) ἐάν σου τῆ τύχη δόξῃ, i.e. we should read over the line σου τ]ῆ τύχη. If this is right, what was written on the line should be ἐάν [σοι] δόξῃ. The traces could perhaps be accommodated to σο]ι δ[ό]ξῃ, though no sign of a deletion remains.

14 There is probably enough room to supply ἀνόμως, as in 4. It is unlikely that διετυχεῖ (or anything else) was added after the end.

J. DAVID THOMAS

4775. INSTRUCTIONS TO A VILLAGE SCRIBE

29 4B.48/H(1)

13 × 31.5 cm

26 April – 25 May 223

Aurelius Serenus, a *cosmetes* or *ex-cosmetes* and councillor of Oxyrhynchus, has been instructed by the *strategus* to carry out some operation regarding land situated near Psobthis. He accordingly instructs the *κωμογραμματεὺς* responsible for

the area to report on the landholders in the *κλήροι* there and the amount of land which each held. The *strategus* had taken action in response to a petition submitted by Aurelius Sarapion, the secretary of Claudia Isidora.

The most interesting feature of the text is the apparent light it throws on the powers of the *strategus* at this period vis-à-vis the town council, on which see 6 n. It also raises a number of questions to which we do not know the answers. Did Sarapion petition the *strategus* directly or, perhaps more probably in view of Isidora's position, petition a higher authority who instructed the *strategus* to take action? What was the nature of Sarapion's petition? It seems quite likely that it alleged encroachment on land owned by Isidora, even though the technical words for this (*παρορισμός*, *παρορίζω*) do not occur in 4775. Encroachments are mentioned in a number of papyri: see the bibliography and parallels cited in the introduction to CPR XXIII 5 (pp. 40–1); add SB III 6294 = P. Freib. II 11 (336). Why didn't the *strategus* give his orders directly to the *κωμογραμματεύς* as was normal (e.g. P. Petaus 24)? Why was Serenus involved and in what capacity, since it was certainly not in virtue of being or having been a *cosmetes*? What was Serenus being required to do, that is to say what was the word now missing in line 7? Finally, what is the meaning of the phrase in lines 18–19? On these points see the notes. Another point of interest is that it is the latest datable text in which Isidora is still in possession of her property, before it passed to the *fiscus* (though 4773 and 4774 could be later, see the introductions to these texts).

The papyrus is almost complete, though it lacks a small amount at the right and top. At the left of the text there is a margin of c.2 cm and a large blank space of 12.5 cm at the foot. On the back is a draft document concerning land measuring. It does not refer to the same case as that on the front, since the *κλήροι* mentioned there are different from those which are referred to on the front. It will be published in a later volume.

Αὐ[ρή]λιος Σερήνος κο[σμητ-
 βο[υ]λευτῆς τῆς Ὀξυρυγ[χιτῶν
 πόλ[ε]ως κωμογραμμ[ατεῖ] c.5
 καὶ ἄλλ[λ]ων κωμῶν τῆς ἄνω τοπαρχί[ας
 5 χαίρειν.

ἐπιστα[λε]ῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ <τοῦ> νομ[ο]ῦ ἐτ[ρατηγοῦ
 Αὐρηλίου Ἀρπ[ο]κρα[τίωνος] c.6
 ποιήσασθαι ἰδιωτ[ικ]ῆς [γ]ῆ[ς] (ἀρουρ-) . καὶ
 βασιλικῆς (ἀρούρης) α περὶ Ψῶβ[θιν] τῆς
 10 τῆς κωμογραμματείας ἐ[κ τῶν] c.4
 μάχου καὶ Θεοδώρου καὶ Διογέ[νονος]
 ἐξ ἀξιώσεως Αὐρηλίου Σαραπί[ωνος]

γραμματέως Κλαυδίας Ἰσιδώρ[ας τῆς
 καὶ Ἀπίας τῆς λαμπροτάτης ἀναγ-
 15 καίως ἐπιστέλλω σοι ἐνγράφως μ[ο]ῖ δη-
 λῶσαι τοὺς ἐν τοῖς προκειμένοι[ς κλή-
 ροις κτήτορας κεκτημένους κ[αὶ τὴν
 ὑπόστασιν ἐκάστου, τὴν τε εὐθ[ε]ρ[ε]ν . [6.5
 καὶ τὸ προσάγγελμα ἐν ἐτοίμῳ ἔ[χ]οντι,
 20 πρὸς τὸ γεινομένου τοῦ ἀφορισμ[οῦ
 μῆδεν ἐμποδῶν γενέσθαι. . [
 (ἔτους) β Ἀυτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρ[κ]ου Ἀύρηλιό[υ
 Σεουήρου Ἀλεξάνδρου Εὐσεβ[οῦς Εὐτυχοῦς
 Σεβαστοῦ Παχῶν [

8 ι of ιδιωτης corrected (from β?) 9 ♂ 13 ἰσιδωρ[14-15 l. ἀναγκαίως
 15 l. ἐγγράφως 20 l. γινομένου 21 l. ἐμποδῶν 22 L

'Aurelius Serenus former(?) *cosmetes*, councillor of the city of the Oxyrhynchites, to the village scribe of . . . and other villages of the upper toparchy, greetings.

'Having been instructed by the *strategus* of the nome, Aurelius Harpocraton, to make a . . . of *n* aruras of private land and 1 arura of royal land near Psobthis, which is in the area for which you are the village scribe, out of (the *cleroi* of) —machus and Theodorus and Diogenes, as a result of a petition from Aurelius Sarapion, secretary of the illustrious lady Claudia Isidora also called Apia, I necessarily instruct you to present me with a written report of those possessors who possess land in the aforesaid *cleroi* and the schedule of property of each of them, having in readiness the . . . and the report, so that there may be no obstacle when the determination of the boundaries takes place. . . .

'Year 2 of Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander Pius Felix Augustus, Pachon . . .'

1-2 Ἀὐ[ρ]ήλιος Σερήνος κο[σμητ-]. Possibly just κο[σμητής], but there is ample room for κο[σμητεύσας. On the office of *cosmetes*, see P. Diog. 20.7 n. An Aurelius Serenus κοσμητ() βουλ(ευτής) (at Oxyrhynchus) occurs in XLIV 3171 8. The text is undated and was assigned to the first half of the third century on palaeographical grounds. Aurelius Ptolemaeus alias Heraclides, ἀγορανομ(ήσας) βουλευτής, who occurs there in line 5, is also attested in I 70 2-3 of 212/13. G. Messeri, *Anagennesis* 4 (1986) 59-62, argues that Ἀὐρήλιος Νεικίας ὁ καὶ Διονύσιος ἀγορανομ() βουλ(ευτής), who occurs in line 15 of 3171, is to be identified with Nicias the *agoranomus* attested in P. Mich. XI 614.23, and deduces from this that 3171 is to be dated to 225 or later. Whether or not this is so, there would seem to be a good chance that the same Aurelius Serenus is attested in 3171 and 4775.

It is remarkable that Serenus does not say in what capacity he is giving instructions to the village scribe. It is in any case unusual for a member of the curial class to be concerned with land-measuring or the like. The only text at all similar that I have come across is SPP XX 58.ii (= V 7), in which the town council of Hermopolis receives a report from a former *cosmetes* and a former *agoranomus* whom they have appointed (lines 6-8) καταπάτησιν ποιήσασθαι χωρίων καὶ παραδείων καὶ [ἀ]ναγραφὴν φυτῶν τῶν καταλαμβανομέν[ων δη]λῶσαι. In this case the report is on the (bad) state of the land, not its size or ownership. Is it possible that Serenus had an official position but did not mention it? If so, the post of βιβλιοφύλαξ, which was sometimes held by a former *cosmetes*, would make sense in the

context. CPR XXIII 5 (169–177) is a report to the βιβλιοφύλαξι δη]μοσίων λόγων from a κωμογραμματεύς, who refers to an ἐπίσταλμα of the *strategus* sent as a result of a petition; encroachment was involved, since the word παρορίζεσθαι occurs (line 8). Cf. also BGU IV 1047.ii.5 ff. (early 2nd cent.), where the writer has requested from the village scribe ὑπὸ τίνων νυνεὶ διακρατοῦνται αἱ τοῦ ἐλαιῶνος (ἄρουραι) β καὶ κατὰ ποῖον δίκαιον, ὃς καὶ αὐτός (i.e. the κωμογραμματεύς) ταῦτα τοῖς βιβλιοφύλαξι προσφωνήσας προσέθηκε κτλ. If Serenus was a βιβλιοφύλαξ, however, he might be expected to have said so.

6 ἐπιστα[λε]ῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ <τοῦ> νομ[ο]ῦ <στρατηγού>. These words would seem to mean that the *strategus* sent an ἐπίσταλμα directly to a magistrate or ex-magistrate, appointing him to a specific task. This is very surprising (the ἐπίσταλμα sent by a *strategus* to an ex-cosmetes in P. Flor. I 6, for example, is not parallel: it is sent to the man in his personal capacity, instructing him to appear in court). In SPP XX 58 ii, referred to above, the town council elected the persons responsible for the task in question, and there is no mention of the *strategus*. In the present case one would have expected the *strategus* to have written to the βουλή telling it to appoint someone (as frequently happens in P. Beatty Panop. 1; see also P. Wisc. I 32 = P. Choix 27.13 ff., a request to the *strategus* to send instructions to the βουλή through the *prytanis* ὅπως ἐρή[σ]ηται (l. αἰρή-) συνοψιστήν). If this procedure had been followed, it is remarkable that Serenus did not say so explicitly. If we can rely on the wording of the present text as giving the whole picture, it is important evidence for the powers of the *strategus* vis-à-vis the town council; on this see A. H. M. Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces* (Oxford 1971²) 334–6, A. K. Bowman, *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt* (ASP 11; Toronto 1971) 79 f.

7 For the *strategus* Harpocration, see 4774 5 n.

The word to be supplied in the lacuna is uncertain and so leaves it unclear as to what exactly Serenus is being required to do. Line 20 suggests ἀφορισμόν, but this seems to be too long (unless abbreviated); ἐπίσκεψιν is equally long and ἀναμέτρην even longer. ἐξέτασιν might be accommodated in the space, if that is a possible way to describe the action which Serenus has been instructed to carry out.

9 For Psobthis in the upper toparchy, see P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati* 223; add SB XXII 15354.19–20 = I 174. In XLIX 3503 (late 1st cent.) the writer complains that the people of Psobthis have been guilty of encroachment; but there is more than one Psobthis in the Oxyrhynchite nome.

10–11 Pruneti, 'I κλήροι del nomo Ossirinichite', *Aegyptus* 55 (1975) 159–244, includes several κλήροι in the Oxyrhynchite ending -μάχου, but none is in the upper toparchy, and I have not noted any in texts published subsequently.

11 Θεοδώρου. Pruneti, *Aegyptus* 55, 182 records a κλήρος Θεοδώρου καὶ Αὐλαίου near Sko in the upper toparchy, now attested also in P. Oxy. Hels. 22.4. In line 15 of that text what may well be the same κλήρος is called simply Θεοδώ(ρου). Pruneti also records a κλήρος Θεοδώρου ἐν [in this toparchy; cf. also loc. cit. 224, and perhaps SB XVIII 14067.24.

Διογέ[νονος]. Otherwise unattested, since it is unlikely that it is referred to in P. Hamb. I 19.14: see Pruneti, *Aegyptus* 55, 235.

There is insufficient room for κλήρων, but there may be room for κ^λ. However, the word is not necessary.

12 This confirms the suggestion by N. Gonis, *ZPE* 129 (2000) 179, to restore Αὐρηλί[ο]υ Κα]ραπύωνος in P. Col. X 276.2.

14 τῆς λαμπροτάτης. In XLIV 3169 184 (late 2nd/early 3rd cent.; cf. BL XI 167) an Isidora ἢ λαμπροτάτη occurs, and the editor suggested that this could be Claudia Isidora alias Apia. However, a Julia Isidora with the epithet λαμπροτάτη has subsequently been attested in P. Harr. II 224 of the same period, and the editor argued that this disproved the suggestion regarding the Isidora of 3169 on the grounds that Claudia Isidora alias Apia never had the epithet λαμπροτάτη. We can now see that this argument is no longer valid, although it may still be doubted whether the Isidora in 3169 is Claudia Isidora; see further *BASP* 41 (2004) 150–1.

ἀναγ- rather than ἀναγ-. The line is short.

15 ff. It is noteworthy that the *κωμογραμματεὺς* is not being asked to go to the properties in dispute and take measurements or the like (as happens in several petitions concerning encroachment, e.g. P. Petaus 24, BGU II 616, XIII 2243, P. Gen. II 99; see CPR XXIII 5 introd.), but is being required to report the names of the landholders in the area in question and the amount of land that they held. This corresponds closely to the questions put to the *κωμογραμματεὺς* in BGU 1047 quoted above (1–2 n.). The implication of lines 20–1 is that this information is needed before ἀφορισμός takes place. ἀφορισμός (or the corresponding verb), which refers to the demarcation of land boundaries, is frequently mentioned in texts alleging encroachment, e.g. BGU XIII 2243, P. Flor. III 319, P. Mert. I 5, PSI Congr. XI 4, SB III 6294, XLV 3240. In CPR XXIII 17 (c.250) *πραγματικοί* may be responsible for ἀφορισμός, see Mitthof's note to line 14.

17 After *κεκτημένους* an upright that suits κ. There appears to be some ink over the line. Did the writer insert [γ]η[ν]?

18–19 εὐθ. [c.5] καὶ τὸ προσάγγελμα ἐν ἐτοίμῳ ἔχοντι. In εὐθ. [the γ is made in such a way that it could be read as κ. If so, we presumably would have to read ἔκθε[σιν], and the slight trace after θ does not easily suit ε. If we read εὐθ, either εὐθη[νίαν] or εὐθυ[ναν] would be possible, though neither goes well with *προσάγγελμα*. A more suitable word in the context would be εὐθυ[μετρίαν], on which see Verhoogt, P. L. Bat. XXX, p. 131 n. 114. It was an operation that was certainly the responsibility of the *κωμογραμματεὺς*, e.g. P. Gen. II 99, but the supplement seems to be too long. It is not clear what relevance a *προσάγγελμα* has in this text nor who issued it. Did it come from the *strategus*? or does it refer to the report to be made by the *κωμογραμματεὺς*? *προσαγγελλμάτων κωμογρα(μματέως)* are referred to in SB XXII 15591.7 (see H. Koskeniemi's note in the original publication, *Tyche* 9 (1994) 60, for bibliography on *προσάγγελμα*). After ἐν ἐτοίμῳ we expect a participle of ἔχω; neither ε[nor εχ[is an easy reading, but π, suggesting a form of ποιέω, is even less likely. ἔχοντι has been supplied to agree with *κοι* in 15, but the writer may have written ἔχων or ἔχοντα.

20 For ἀφορισμός see the note to 15 ff. There would be room to supply γῆς at the right, although nothing is needed.

21 There is an indeterminate stroke after *γενέθαι*, presumably the start of the closing greeting.

J. DAVID THOMAS

4776. WRITING EXERCISE?

104/99(a)

12.4 × 9.6 cm

Before summer 225

On the back of 4779 is written, twice, the name and patronymic of Isidora. There are two entries, (A) and (B), each of just over two lines, both written in the same hand. They are written along the fibres at 90° to the text on the front and are upside down in relation to one another, occupying the top and bottom of the papyrus. (A) records Isidora's father as *αἰωνογυμνασιάρχου*, whereas in (B) he is recorded as *γενομένου γυμνασιάρχου*. This may indicate that (B) was written after (A); cf. the contrast between 4772 9–10 and 12–14. Why her name and patronymic should have been noted in this way and why in both instances the text is left incomplete, there is no way of knowing. We can be reasonably confident that the texts antedate the seizure of Isidora's property by the fiscus, which had taken place by the summer of 225; see the general introduction.

- (A) Κλαυδία Ἰσιδώρα ἢ καὶ Ἀπία μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ
πατρὸς Κλαυδίου Ἀπιανοῦ αἰωνογυμνασιάρχου
τῆς λαμπροτάτης π
- (B) Κλαυδία Ἰσιδώρα ἢ καὶ Ἀπία μετὰ κυρίου
τοῦ πατρὸς Κλαυδίου Ἀπιανοῦ γενομένου
γυμνασιάρχο

A 1 μετὰ κυρίου. In **4772** 11 ff. Isidora uses her father as *κύριος* when contracting a loan, but later, when registering this loan after her father's death, she acts through her secretary and does not mention a *κύριος*.

2–3 Isidora's father is similarly described in **4772** 13, *ἑωνίου γυμνασιάρχου τῆς λαμπροτά[τ]ης πόλεως τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων*. On *αἰώνιοι γυμνασιάρχοι*, see P. Diog. 3.14 n., with a list on pp. 56–7, and D. Hagedorn, P. Schubert, *ZPE* 81 (1990) 278–9, with the list on p. 280; cf. also Hagedorn, *ZPE* 110 (1996) 157–9. For the form *αἰωνογυμνασιάρχος*, see XXXVIII **2854** 27, with note; the form is also found in P. Diog. 3.14 and BGU I 141 ii 3 as corrected in *ZPE* 81, 278–9 (BL IX 17).

B 2–3 For this description of Isidora's father, see **4772** 9, but note that he is not there acting as Isidora's *κύριος* and is no doubt deceased.

3 *γυμνασιάρχο*. The ο is written over another letter (c?) as though to correct it, and the rest of the line is blank. The writer may have abandoned his writing at this point because he had made a mistake or because he realised that Isidora's father was dead and so could no longer be acting as her *κύριος*.

J. DAVID THOMAS

4777. TAX RECEIPT

29 4B.45/F(3–4)a

14 × 10 cm

4 May 232
Plate VI

The papyrus is complete at top, left and right, and it is unlikely that anything was written after line 10. The lower part, however, is severely damaged. The back is blank.

Two *ἐπιτηρηταὶ ὠνῆς* of a tax whose nature is uncertain (see 2 n.) acknowledge payment by a *πραγματευτής* of the estate formerly belonging to Claudia Isidora. The text belongs some seven years after the date at which her estate is known to have fallen to the *fiscus* (see the general introduction), but we have an even later text which indicates that property was still being described as formerly belonging to her estate (P. Oslo III 111 of 235); cf. also **4778**.

Ἀυρήλιοι Ὠρείων καὶ Πατερμούθις ἀμφότεροι ἐπιτη-
ρηταὶ ὠνῆς πελωχικοῦ πόλ(εως) νομ(οῦ) Ὀξυρυγχι(ίτου) δι' ἐμοῦ
Ἀυρηλ(ίου) Ἀπολλωνίου γραμματέως [[Κλαυδίω Ἀσκλη-]] Ἀυρηλίω Ἡρακλείδῃ
[[πιάδῃ [χ]ιριστῇ]] 'πραγματευτῆ' οὐσίας πρότερον Κλαυδίας Ἰσιδώρας

- 5 τῆς καὶ [Ἀπί]ας χαίρειν. ἀπέσχον παρὰ σοῦ ὑπ(ἐρ) τέλ(ου)ς
π]ελῶ[χικο]ῦ σο... τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ια (ἔτους) τὰς κατα
c.18 ἄρ]χυρίου [δρα]χμὰς
c.22]...α. [c.7] σεσημ(είωμαι).
(ἔτους) ια Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Σεουήρου
10 Ἀλεξάνδρου Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ Πα]χὼν θ̄.

- 1 1. Ὁρίων ἀμφοῖ, ἀμ corrected, probably from ἐπ 2 π^σνο^μοξυρνε^λ 3 αὐρη^λ
4 1. χειριστῆ ἰδιωρα^ς 5 ν^λτε^λ 6 } 8]ρη^λ?; see note σεση^μ

‘Aurelii Horion and Patermuthis, both controllers of the tax-concession on milling(?) for the city (and) nome of the Oxyrhynchite, through me, Aurelius Apollonius, scribe, to ~~Claudius Aselepiades agent~~ Aurelius Heraclides, administrator of the estate formerly belonging to Claudia Isidora also called Apia, greetings. I received from you for the tax on milling(?)... for the current year 11... silver drachmas. I, Aurelius Apollonius, have signed. Year 11 of Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander Pius Felix Augustus, Pachon 9.’

1–2 Neither of the men is attested as ἐπιτηρητής elsewhere. Aurelius Horion may be the man to whom the registration of a vegetable shop is addressed in XII **1461** of 222, where the title of his office is either not given or has been lost at the start, and he is merely described as γενομ(ένω) ἀρχι[ρ]εῖ; but the name is of course very common.

Several papyri record ἐπιτηρηταὶ ὠνής or men appointed εἰς (τὴν) ἐπιτήρησιν ὠνής, e.g. BGU XIII 2295, P. Freib. IV 60, P. IFAO I 3, P. Köln V 228, P. Mert. II 70 (with BL V 66), SB XVI 12504, 12695, XVIII 13631 = XX 14996, XXII 15630, all 2nd or 3rd century. The closest parallel to the present text is BGU IV 1062.4 (W. Chr. 276), a contemporary Oxyrhynchite document (236/7): two persons appointed εἰς ἐπιτήρησιν ὠνής πελωχικοῦ πόλεως νομοῦ Ὁξυρνε^λχίτου contract with two substitutes to perform the liturgy for them. Despite their title, it is certain that ἐπιτηρηταὶ could function simply as tax collectors; cf. ZPE 46 (1982) 192 and the works there cited.

2 πελωχικοῦ. For the little that is known about this tax, see P. Rain. Cent. 60.10 n., P. Louvre I 25 introd., and Fabian Reiter, *Die Nomarchen des Arsinoites* (Pap. Col. XXXI; 2005) 165–9. (I am grateful to Dr Reiter for allowing me to see this section of his book prior to publication.) There is little doubt that the tax is connected with mills and with milling, perhaps a kind of licence-tax. Since it is described as an ὠνή it must have been originally farmed out. The etymology of the word remains a mystery (see the references above). The association of μηχαναί with a μυλαῖον in several texts (e.g. P. Mil. Vogl. II 53, P. Ryl. II 321 and PSI VII 787) supports Wallace’s suggestion (*Taxation in Egypt* 355; BL III 14) to expand πε(λωχικοῦ) μηχαν(ανή) in BGU III 771.6.

3–4 The correction suggests that the tax-collectors originally intended to give the receipt to an agent of Isidora’s estate, but then realised that the estate had now come into the possession of the fiscus and its tax obligations were being administered by a πραγματευτής. This is a little odd, since we know from XXXI **2566** that the fiscus controlled this estate at least seven years earlier in 225. An Aurelius Lucius occurs as a πραγματευτής in charge of a section of what was formerly Isidora’s estate in BGU XI 2126, on which see JJP 18 (1974) 239–44, where col. ii is re-edited (reprinted as SB XIV 11403). (The version of col. i. included in the Duke DataBank under SB 11403 is misleading: for corrections suggested in JJP see BL VII 24 to BGU 2126, and add the correction παρα(μ)ατευτῆ) in col. i 1.) For the date of this papyrus, almost certainly 232/3, see p. 243 of the article cited. There is some discussion of the office of πραγματευτής on pp. 241–2 (where the present papyrus is referred to); cf. also N. Gonis, ZPE 132 (2000) 187–8. It would appear from the present text that there was a distinction

between a *χειριστής*, who was an employee of a private person, and a *πραγματευτής*, who was in the service of the government. In P. Beatty Panop. 1.209–11, however, the two titles seem to be equated: παραγγέλλω ἀπ[ασι] τοῖς γραμματεῦσι καὶ τοῖς χειρισταῖς ἥτοι πραγματευταῖς τῶν αὐτῶν οὐσιῶν.

Claudius Asclepiades is no doubt the Asclepiades who is mentioned as a *χειριστής* in documents that also refer to Isidora: XII 1578 (see also *BASP* 3 (1965) 30–1), SB XX 14292, and 4772 15. He is clearly a financial agent. It is doubtful whether the Claudius Asclepiades *χειριστής* who occurs in SB XVIII 13915 can be the same man: the text dates from 254 and its provenance is unknown. Doubtful too is identification with the *χειριστής* Asclepiades of P. Köln II 105.1: the text is from the Oxyrhynchite and is roughly contemporary (208/9), but there is nothing to connect him with Claudia Isidora.

5 ἀπέσχον. Presumably the singular is used because the receipt is being given by the secretary. It is not common for ἐπιτηρηταί to use ἀπέσχον/ἀπέσχομεν when issuing tax-receipts. There are, however, a few examples in ostraca: O. Ashm. Shelton 12, O. Wilck. 781, 1430, O. Eleph. DAIK 58 and 61.

τέλ(ου)ς is supported by BGU IV 1062 verso, ἐπιτηρήσεως τέλους πελωχικοῦ. P. Rain.Cent. 60.10 has τελέ[ς]ματος [π]ελωχικοῦ, but in the Oxyrhynchite τέλος would seem to be a more probable word in this meaning.

6 π]ελω[χικο]ῦ. The reading is uncertain, especially the υ, and the word may have been abbreviated. If it is right, we might have expected it to have been followed directly by τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος, which, however, is not the case. The ink before τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος is severely abraded, and only c, with a probable o after it, is at all clear. Such traces as do survive would permit the reading σου ὑπέβ, although they certainly do not compel it. A month's name cannot be read.

6–7 τὰς presumably goes with δραχμάς in the next line. Texts referring to the exaction of taxes by ἐπιτηρηταί sometimes say the exaction is being carried out κατὰ τὸν γνώμονα (BGU IV 1062.14, P. Wisc. II 80.9–10, P. Tebt. II 287.10 (W. Chr. 251); cf. SB XVI 12695.7, 30 and XXXI 2566 i 9–10, ii 12), which is too short to fill the lacuna at the start of line 7. In BGU 1062.14–15 we have the fuller expression κατὰ [τ]ε τὸν τῆς ὠνῆς γνώμ[ονα καὶ] τὴν τοῦ νομοῦ συνήθειαν (cf. P. Tebt. 287.5) and we should perhaps restore κατὰ | [τὸν τῆς ὠνῆς γνώμονα.

8 We need the name of the secretary before ζεσημ(είωμαι), but it is uncertain how to read this. Easiest perhaps is αυ]ρη^λ απ[ολλωνιος].

J. DAVID THOMAS

4778. APPLICATION TO THE *IDIOS LOGOS*

71/63(a)

16.9 × 21.5 cm

c.238
Plate X

The papyrus preserves an almost complete column of writing, together with the ends of three lines from a preceding column (not transcribed). It is presumably complete at the top, where there is a margin of 1.5 cm (with no sign of a column number), and at the foot, where the margin is of 3.5 cm. Very little of the text in the main surviving column has been lost at the right. It can be approximately dated, since the official in charge of the *idios logos* to whom it is addressed has already appeared in other papyri, see 1 n. 4778 is one of the latest references to the office of *idios logos*, see the introduction to XLIII 3133 (239). The back is blank. There is a collesis some 6 cm from the left-hand edge.

A γραμματεὺς πολιτικῶν applies to the procurator in charge of the *idios logos* to purchase a house in Oxyrhynchus that had formed part of the property of Claudia Isidora. No doubt what we have is a copy of the application, kept in the town council's archives, see 30 n. The text thus adds a little to our sparse knowledge of the financial administration of the *metropoleis* in the third century. All the evidence that was known up to 1971 is fully discussed in A. K. Bowman, *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt* 91–8; see also P. Jouguet, *La Vie municipale* (Paris 1911) 415–56, A. H. M. Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces* (Oxford 1971²) 332–4, XII **1419** 2 n., and CPR XXIII 23 introd. (p. 138).

Although there are quite a large number of papyri which deal with the sale or lease of property that had previously been in private hands but had come into the possession of the government, either through confiscation or otherwise, none is exactly parallel to **4778**. All applications to purchase such property addressed to the office of the *idios logos* come from very early in the Roman period (AD 13 or 14) and concern ἀδέσποτα or land classed as ὑπόλογος: IV **721** (W. Chr. 269), **835**, IX **1188**, XX **2277**; cf. M. Chr. 68 and III **513**. Documents of these types are discussed by Gerhard Plaumann, *Der Idioslogos* (Berlin 1919) 11–23, 63–5, Paul R. Swarney, *The Ptolemaic and Roman Idios Logos* (ASP 8: Toronto 1970) 41–57, 73–6, and Thomas Kruse, *Der königliche Schreiber* (München/Leipzig 2002) 492 ff., 524 ff. Their format is not at all similar to that used in **4778**. A somewhat later example using much the same format as the texts just cited is addressed to the *strategus*: XLVII **3334** (Domitian). Later examples that are much closer in format to **4778** are SB XX 14974 = XVIII 13331 (190) and BGU IV 1091 (212/13). SB 14974 starts βούλομαι ὀνήσασθαι ἀπὸ τῶν εἰς πρ[ᾶς]ιν προκειμ(ένων) τῆς τοῦ ἰδίου λόγου ἐπιτροπῆς with reference to a house formerly (πρότερον) belonging to a named individual; it mentions συντίμησις and includes the clause with κύρω. The start is damaged, but it was, at any rate originally, addressed to the *strategus* (see the discussion by D. Hagedorn and L. Koenen in *ZPE* 74 (1988) 226–7). BGU 1091 (cf. Plaumann, op. cit. 12–13; the text is mentioned briefly in Swarney, op. cit. 116) is also addressed to the *strategus* and refers to land ἀπὸ ἀπράτ[ω]ν τῆς τοῦ ἰδίου λόγου ἐπιτροπῆς that formerly (πρότερον) belonged to a named individual (lines 13–15). It is not an offer to purchase but to lease, and so has no reference to συντίμησις nor a κύρωσις clause. For the office of *idios logos* as the administrator of government property, see Swarney, op. cit. 111–19, and the passages from Kruse cited above.

Good parallels for the general structure of **4778** are to be found in applications to purchase land in the control of the διοίκησις, of which there are a large number preserved in P. Bub. I 1 (224), 2 (224) and 4 (221). These are all addressed to the διοικητῆς and mostly begin βούλομαι ὀνήσασθαι ἀπὸ τῶν εἰς πρᾶσιν προκειμένων τῆς διοικήσεως (or τῆς εἰς ἐπιτροπῆς), followed by πρότερον and a name; particularly close to **4778** is an entry that uses the expression ἀπὸ ἀπράτων instead of ἀπὸ τῶν εἰς πρᾶσιν προκειμένων (4 xxxv 4; cf. xxi 9 and lv). There is sometimes a refer-

ence to *συντίμησις* (this is always mentioned in the accompanying instruction from the *διοικητής* authorising the sale), and the entries normally include the *κύρωσις* clause. Very similar, but addressed to the *strategus* not the *διοικητής*, is P. Amh. II 97 (probably 181: BL IX 6). Compare also III 513 (184), which refers to a bid to purchase a house and appurtenances at Oxyrhynchus ἀπὸ ἀπράτων τῆς διοικήσεως . . . πρότερ[ον *Καρα*]πίωνος (lines 7–10). A number of texts in the Petaus archive are reports by the village scribe to the *strategus* regarding applications to buy property ἐκ τῶν εἰς πρᾶσιν ὑπερκειμένων τῆς διοικήσεως πρότερον followed by a name (P. Petaus 13–16; 184/5). We should also compare LXII 4337 (c.178?), addressed to the *strategus* and offering to buy land ἀπὸ τῶν εἰς πρᾶσιν ὑπερκειμένων πρότερον plus the name of a man whose property is explicitly said to have been confiscated; this offer, like several of those mentioned above, is a request to purchase ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου, but, unlike those above, it gives no indication of whether the property was in the control of the *idios logos* or the *διοίκησις* (cf. P. Turner 24). A further comparable document is SB X 10527 (152/3), originally published by B. Boyaval in *BIFAO* 65 (1967) 74–80, with Plate xiv: this a petition to an ἐπίτροπος, which refers to an earlier application made to him to purchase land (lines 8–9) ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου[ν ἀπὸ τ]ῶν (parallels prove that we should read this and not the editor's ἐκ τῶν] δημοσίου[ν ἐδαφ]ῶν) εἰς πρᾶσιν ὑπερκει[μένων το]ῦ οὐσι[ακού] λόγου πρότερον plus name. We do not know what sort of procuratorship is involved in this text; the editor plausibly suggests the *procurator usiacus*.

The property that features in 4778 was clearly in a poor state of repair (11–13). One may compare the house mentioned in P. Oslo III 111.129–30, formerly belonging to Isidora, which is described as ἐνπεφραγμένη. It is remarkable that, while the house in 4778 had been assessed at only 750 drachmas (21–2), the city is apparently offering to pay at least 1200 drachmas (22–3; see note), although we do not know when the assessment was made. For some reason, the city must have been very anxious to acquire this property. In SPP V 119 recto (266/7) we find several applications to buy or rent property from the πολιτικὸς λόγος (of Hermopolis); in particular col. iii is an offer to lease a house and col. iv an offer to buy a house in the city (the offer is 2000 drachmas for a house in a poor state of repair). This suggests that cities might have been keen to buy such properties to acquire an income from renting them or a profit from selling them on. For ownership of a bath at Oxyrhynchus passing from a private individual to the city, cf. XLIV 3173 6–8 (222), βαλανείου πρότερον Ἀρρίου Ἀπολιναρίου νυνεὶ δὲ τῆς πό[λεως]. Another notable feature of 4778 is the information it brings on buildings in Oxyrhynchus (9–11, 13–17): on this subject see Julian Krüger, *Oxyrhynchus in der Kaiserzeit* (Frankfurt 1990) 101 ff. More generally on public buildings in Egypt, see Adam Łukaszewicz, *Les Édifices publics dans les villes de l'Égypte romaine* (Warsaw 1986) with the review article by A. K. Bowman, *JRA* 5 (1992) 495–503.

col. ii

Γεμινίωι Οὐαλεριανῶ τῶ [κρατίστῳ
 πρὸς τῶ ἰδίῳ λόγῳ [
 παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Σαραπίωνος τοῦ [καὶ . . .
 γραμματέως πολιτικῶν τῆς Ὀξυρ[υγχι-
 5 τῶν πόλεως. βούλομαι ἀνήσασθαι τῆ
 Ὀξυρυγχειῶν πόλει ἀπὸ ἀπράτων [τῆς
 ἑπιτροπῆς (πρότερον) Κλαυδίας Ἰσιδώρα[
 τῆς καὶ Ἀπίας ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ πόλει ἐπ' ἀμ[φό-
 δου Πλατείας οἰκίαν ὑφ' ἣν Θεσμ[οφό-
 10 ριον ὄντα ἐν ἱερῶ Δῆμητρος θεᾶ[
 μεγίστης, νυνὶ τῆς οἰκίας οὔση[
 ἀοικήτου διὰ τὸ ἐκ μέρους συνερ[ευκέ-
 ναι, ἥς γί(τονες) νότου ρύμη καὶ ἐπί τι [μέρος
 ἐκ τοῦ ἀπὸ λιβὸ[
 15 Δῆμητρος θεᾶς μεγί[
 στοῦ Πλατείας, λιβὸς [ἱε]ρὸν Διὸς κ[αὶ ἐ-
 πί τι μέρος ἱερὸν Δῆμητρος, πρ[οσφέ-
 ρων ἐκ τοῦ [τ]ῆς πόλεως λόγου α . . .
 συναγομεν[. . .] . . . ης τελομένης . [c.4
 20 ἐν δραχμαῖ[
 συντεμῆσεως δραχμῶν ἑπτακοσί[
 πεντήκοντα ὅλας δραχμάς χειλε[
 κοσίας ἤνπ[ερ] κρυωθ[εῖ]ς διαγράψω [ἐπὶ τὴν
 δημοσίαν τράπεζα[ν εἰς] τὸν τῆς ἐπ[ιτροπῆς
 25 λόγον ἐφ' ᾧτε μένειν [τ]ῆ Ὀξυρυγχε[
 εἰς τὸν αἰὲ χρόνον τὴν τούτων κρ[άτησι
 καὶ κυρίαν ἀνα[φ]αίρετον καὶ ἐξέστῳ [αὐτῇ χρη-
 σθαι καὶ οἰκονομεῖν περὶ αὐτῶν ὡ[
 ληται. *vacat* ἔὰν δὲ μὴ κρυωθῶ οὐ [κατασχε-
 30 θήσομαι τῆ[δ]ε τῆ ὑποσχέσει. διε[υτύχει.

1 l. Γεμινίωι 6 οξυρυγχειτων, l. Ὀξυρυγχειτῶν 7 ας ἰσιδωρα[
 13 γ', l. γείτονες 14 του, τ a correction το' l. φιλόσ 16 [ιε]ρον, one dot over ι vis-
 ible; likewise 17 21 l. συντεμῆσεως 22 l. χιλίας 25 οξυρυγχειτων, l. Ὀξυρυγχειτῶν
 30 θη corrected?

'To Geminus Valerianus, *vir egregius*, in charge of the *idios logos*.

'From Aurelius Sarapion also called . . . , secretary to the municipal funds of the city of the Oxyrhynchites. I wish to purchase for the city of the Oxyrhynchites from unsold property managed

by your procuratorship formerly belonging to Claudia Isidora also called Apia in the same city in the Square quarter a house beneath which is a Thesmophorion being in the temple of Demeter, the very great goddess, the house now being unoccupied because it has partly fallen into ruin; of which the neighbours (are): on the south a street and for some part from the west an empty plot, on the north a temple of Demeter, the very great goddess, on the east the stoa of the Square (quarter), on the west a temple of Zeus and for some part a temple of Demeter; contributing out of the city-fund . . . in sixty drachmas, instead of the seven hundred and fifty drachmas of the valuation, a sum in full of one thousand . . . hundred drachmas. If this is confirmed, I shall pay this (price) to the public bank into the account of the procuratorship, on condition that the possession and ownership of these (properties) remain for the city of the Oxyrhynchites for ever and cannot be taken away, and that it has the power to use and administer them as it wishes. But if my application is not confirmed, I shall not be bound by this offer. Farewell.'

1 Γεμεινίωι Οὐαλεριανῶ. He was already known from VIII **1114** 5 = ChLA III 216 (237), no title preserved, XLVI **3287** (probably 238), entitled τῶ κρ(ατίστῳ) ἐπιτρό(πῳ), and CPR V 4 (undated), entitled τοῦ κρατίστου πρ[ός] τῶ ἰδίῳ λόγῳ: see CPR V 4.12–13 n.

3 Sarapion's other name must have been very short. An Aurelius Sarapion also called Ap(e)is occurs in VI **977** (252), where he is a βουλευτής, though not necessarily of Oxyrhynchus. Ἀπ(ε)ι would certainly fit here, but there are other possibilities, e.g. Ἡρᾶ. It is less likely that we should read του[κ], i.e. τοῦ [κ(αί)], allowing for a longer alias.

4 γραμματέως πολιτικῶν. The office is mentioned elsewhere only in XII **1413** 7 (270–5) and XLIV **3185** (an unknown year 1). τὰ πολιτικά are the financial funds of the metropolis, as opposed to state funds: see Bowman, *Town Councils* 44–6.

5 The traces at the right do not suggest ἐν [τῆ], and this is not what we require in view of ἐν τῆ αὐτῆ πόλει in 8. We should no doubt read simply τ[ῆ], meaning that Sarapion wishes to purchase the house for or on behalf of the city. Similarly in P. Turner 24.5 a woman applies to the *strategus* to buy confiscated land τῆ θυγατρὶ μου 'for my daughter'.

6–7 ἀπὸ ἀπράτων [τῆς] cῆς ἐπιτροπῆς. Similarly BGU IV 1091.13–15, quoted in the introduction. The expression ἀπὸ ἀπράτων τῆς διοικήσεως occurs in III **513** 7–8 (W. Chr. 183), XIV **1633** 8–9, and P. Bub. I 4, see the introduction above. On ἀπρατα, see D. Hagedorn, *ZPE* 90 (1992) 282, and G. Messeri, R. Pintaudi, *ZPE* 122 (1998) 130, where the text of SB XX 14974.13 is corrected (BL XI 234).

8–9 For the ἄμφοδον Πλατείας at Oxyrhynchus, see S. Daris, *ZPE* 132 (2000) 219–20.

9–10 ὑφ' ἧν Θεσμ[οφό]ριον. ὑφ' ἧν may imply that the Thesmophorion was literally underground. The only other attestation of a Thesmophorion at Oxyrhynchus is P. Laur. IV 153.8.

9–11 A Thesmophorion is normally considered to be a temple of Demeter Θεσμοφόρος, see LSJ s.v.; cf. P. Laur. IV 153.8 n. In P. Enteux. 19.4 the expression Θεσμοφορίου Δημητρος occurs, and Guéraud remarks in the note 'Les temples de Déméter portaient souvent le nom de θεσμοφόρια.' Winfried J. R. RübSam, *Götter und Kulte in Faijūm* (Bonn 1974) 43, in commenting on temples at Arsinoe, says 'Ungeklärt muß allerdings bleiben, ob das vorher erwähnte Θεσμοφόριον mit dem obigen Δημητριον identisch ist. Es stehen ja auch bisweilen zwei Kirchen nebeneinander.' Similarly John Whitehorne, *ANRW* II 18.5, p. 3065, remarks with regard to the Θεσμοφόριον and Δημητρεῖον at Oxyrhynchus 'it is impossible to say whether these two shrines are one and the same'. Since in **4778** the Thesmophorion is situated within the ἱερόν of Demeter, either we have two shrines or ἱερόν here means the 'sanctuary, sacred precinct of Demeter' rather than just the temple building. The latter may be supported by LXIV **4441** vi 17, ἀντικρὺ ἱεροῦ Δημητρίου, where ἱεροῦ may not be simply otiose. Other references to a Δημητρεῖον at Oxyrhynchus are XII **1449** 5, situated, as here, ἐπ' ἀμφόδου Πλατ(είας), and XII **1485**, an invitation to dine ἐν τῶ Δημητρίῳ. See Whitehorne, *ibid.*, Krüger, *Oxyrhynchos in der Kaiserzeit* 103–5.

On the worship of Demeter in Egypt, see most recently Dorothy Thompson, in W. Clarysse et al. (eds.), *Egyptian Religion: The Last Thousand Years* (Leuven 1998) i 699–707.

10 ὄντα. If this is correctly read, we must assume either an error for ὄν or that the writer used ὄντα to refer to the house plus the Thesmophorion. The line is short, but nothing is required between θεᾶς and μεγίστης.

11 Another short line, unless there was something written after οὔσης, e.g. πάνυ.

11–12 νυνὶ τῆς οἰκίας οὔσης[ς] ἀοικήτου. Similarly the property on sale in P. Amh. II 97.10 is described as μὴ οἰκουμ(ένου).

12–13 συνερ[ευκέ]ναι. The verb also occurs in XII **1475** 16–17, P. Mil. II 41.10, P. Stras. VI 555.12 (where the note wrongly suggests that it needs correction), 556.11, and SPP V 44.4. On houses in a ruined state, see G. Husson, *OIKIA: Le vocabulaire de la maison privée* (Paris 1983) 200–4. For other references to houses of Isidora at Oxyrhynchus, see P. Oslo III 111.126 and 130.

13 γί(τονες). Normally written as a raised ι through the horizontal of τ (cf. A. Blanchard, *Sigles et abréviations* 10); here it looks different as there is a loop at the top of the ι.

14 ψειλό[ς] τόπος. ψειλο[ί] τόποι is equally possible.

16 στοὰ Πλατείας. Not attested elsewhere. On στοαί at Oxyrhynchus, see C. Salvaterra's note in *Aegyptus* 70 (1990) 19–20 and LXIV **4441** introd. (pp. 172–3).

[ίε]ρόν Διός. This temple of Zeus is attested in XII **1449** 5, situated ἐκ νότου τοῦ Δημητρο(είου). It is there described as a temple of Διός καὶ Ἡ[ρα]ς καὶ Ἀγαργάτ[ιδ]ος Βεθεννύν[ιδ]ος καὶ Κόρης. Two similar temples in other parts of the city are mentioned in the succeeding lines. A temple of Διός καὶ Ἡρα καὶ τῶν συννάων θεῶν μεγίστων occurs in X **1265** 8–9; probably also in P. Eirene I 5 = SB XXIV 16093.9–10. See Whitehorne, loc. cit. 3084, Krüger, op. cit. 104–5.

17–18 πρ[οσφέ]ρων. At the start of 18 ρων is a good reading, though φων is not impossible. At the right in 17 π is certain. ε might be possible thereafter, pointing to a participle from a verb compounded with περι-. However, neither περιφέρων nor περιγράφων makes sense in the context. An equally possible reading is πρ[, cf. the way πρ is written in πρόσ, line 2. For προσφέρων, cf. XIV **1633** 17, where προσφέρων is used of adding 140 drachmas to a bid, and especially P. Giss. 50.12–18, an offer to lease καψάρια πολιτικά at Oxyrhynchus, προσφέρων τῇ πόλει . . . τοῦ τελουμένου φόρου . . . δραχμὰς δεκαεπτὰ ὀβολόν. Here the idea of making an additional contribution would suit the context, but it is not clear how this can fit with the words following, see below.

18 On expenditure from the πολιτικὸς λόγος, see Bowman, *Town Councils* 94–8.

18–20 The clause after λόγου is baffling. It ought to explain why the city is offering at least 1,200 drachmas for property valued at only 750 drachmas, but I am unable to suggest a plausible reading or explanation. In 18 the letter following λόγου is ρ, but what follows this is uncertain. Easiest is απ[, but ἀπό is not possible. αυτ[.] has been considered, and αὐτό[ς], referring to the γραμματεὺς, would perhaps be supported by SB X 10527.13–14, an offer to purchase land from the state τιμῆς ἀντὶ τῶν τῆς [συντιμῆς]εως ἀργυ[ρίου] (δραχμῶν) (χιλίων) (πεντακοσίων) ἐγὼ αὐτῇ ἀργυριο(); unfortunately the text thereafter is lost. However, a better reading than αὐτό[ς] is αυτ[.] (not ἄνε[υ]); this would seem to point to ἀντ[ί], even though the word occurs again, where we should expect it, in 20. The phrase ἀντὶ τῶν συναγομένων occurs in a similar context in P. Bub. I 1 xvii and 4 xxvii, but with δραχμῶν following; elsewhere συναγόμενος seems always to be used with an accompanying noun either expressed or easily understood. In line 19 the traces before ης are very slight; της is possible, as also is τ[ι]μῆς or, perhaps better, τ[ε]μῆς. The expression ἡ συναγομένη τιμή occurs not infrequently, for example, in XLIX **3518–3520** (in **3520** along with ἐν δραγμαίς). For τελέω used of τιμή, see XII **1414** 15, οἱ τελούντες τὴν τιμὴν τοῦ [λίνου(?)]. This does not help with the word after τελουμένης, which almost certainly begins with γ or π. π[ί]σης or π[λή]ρης could be read; for πλήρης we might compare SB XX 14978.5, τὰς συναγομένας (sc. δραχμάς) τοῦ τέλους πλήρης. ἀντὶ τῆς συναγομένης τ(ε)μῆς τελουμένης πλήρης ἐν δραγμαίς ἐξήκοντα docs at least construc, but it is hard to see what sense it would convey.

If in line 19 we read τῆς before τελουμένης, we need a feminine noun to follow. A suitable noun in the context would be π[ροσόδου], though it is long for the space: cf. P. Bub. I 1 and 4 *passim*, where instructions are given to sell confiscated property provided that the bid is not less than the συντίμησις nor τῆς συναγομένης πρὸς λογισμὸν προσόδου (see p. 17); for πρόσοδοι referring to the income from such property, see most recently CPR XXIII 8.11 n., with full bibliography.

20 ἐν δραχμαῖς [εἰ]ξή[κ]οντα. It is likely to be mere coincidence that SPP V 101 records a report by a man appointed by the Hermopolite council to examine τοῦ γ[ε]νομένου ἀ[ρ]γυρικοῦ ἑξηκονταδραχμοῦ μερισμοῦ εἰς τὸ κατ' οἰκίαν τῆς πό[λε]ως (see Jouguet, *Vie municipale* 433–5, Bowman, *Town Councils* 91–2). This text is now to be used in the republication by P. van Minnen, 'Hermopolis in the crisis of the Roman empire' in W. Jongman, M. Kleijwegt (edd.), *After the Past: Essays in Ancient History in Honour of H. W. Pleket* (Leiden 2002) 285–304. He argues that the μερισμός is a one-off levy payable by homeowners at Hermopolis to finance rebuilding there, possibly caused by riots.

20–21 ἀντὶ τῶ[ν τῆς] συντεμήςεως κτλ. The same phrase is used in P. Bub. I 1 xx 4, 2 xiv 6, 4 v 7–8, lxi 7–8, SB X 10527.13–14.

20–23 The amount of the valuation is almost certainly 750 drachmas. πεντακοσί[ων πεντήκοντα], the only possible alternative, is a less likely reading. The valuation is therefore much lower than the amount being offered, which cannot be less than 1,200 drachmas and could be as high as 1,900 drachmas. On house prices at Oxyrhynchus, which (not surprisingly) varied greatly, see H.-J. Drexhage, *Preise, Mieten/Pachten, Kosten und Löhne im römischen Ägypten* (St. Katharinen 1991) 84–6, and the updated list in P. Louvre I, pp. 63–4.

22 ὄλας. For the use of this word in similar contexts, cf. P. Beatty Panop. 2.135–7, where the *katholikos* complains that ἀντὶ τῶν διχειλ[ί]ων καὶ πεντακοσίων ἀπτικῶν, which the treasury has received for the sale of ὑπόλογος land, πέντε ὄλα καὶ τεσσαράκοντα φαίνονται ἔτεροι τάλαντα ἐπαγγελιάμενοι; and SB I 5673.6–8, an offer to purchase land from the state ἀντὶ [τῶ]ν προῦπεσχημ[έν]ων [ὑ]πὸ Ἰσιδώρου . . . ἐκάστ(ης) ἀρούρης ἀργ(υρίου) (δραχμῶν) εἴκοσι, ὄλων ἐκάστης [ἀ]ρούρης δραχ(μῶν) τεσσαράκοντα (cf. also P. Bub. I 4 lxix 7). These texts suggest that the addition of ὄλος was not, or was not felt to be, simply otiose.

23 ἦνπ[ερ] κυρωθ[ε]ίς. The usual expression is either ἐφ' ᾧ κυρωθείς (e.g. P. Turner 24.11) or ἄσπερ κυρωθείς, referring to the δραχμάς (e.g. XIV 1633 22). The writer presumably wrote ἦνπερ to agree with τιμή as though it had been used in the previous clause; cf. 1633 20–23, ὥστε] εἶνα[ι] τιμὴν εὐ[ν] ὑπερβολίῳ [δραχμάς] ὀκτακοσί[ας], ἄσπ[ε]ρ κυρωθε[ίς] διαγράψω ἐπὶ τὴν τ[οῦ] νομοῦ δη[μοσίαν] τράπεζαν κτλ. For the possibility that τιμή occurred in line 19, see 18–20 n.

24–5 εἰς] τὸν τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς] λόγον. Although π is doubtful, no other restoration seems possible. The phrase does not occur in any document of a similar type to 4778, although the construction ἐπὶ . . . τράπεζαν εἰς . . . λόγον is not uncommon. One may compare the sums due ὑπὲρ λόγου τῆς ἐπιτρ[οπ]ῆς in BGU I 8 ii 14 (248).

29–30 ξὰν δὲ μὴ κυρωθῶ κτλ. For examples of this standard clause, see P. Turner 24.13–14 n. (end).

30 It was suggested in the introduction that the document is a copy kept in the archives, which would account for the absence of a signature; but it is surprising that there is no date given. Below this line there are 3.5 blank cm, and the papyrus appears complete at the foot.

4779. OFFICIAL DOCUMENT

104/99(a)

12.4 × 9.6 cm

After January 169

A piece was cut from a larger document, and the name and patronymic of Claudia Isidora was written on the back (4776). What remains on the front (4779) is part of seven lines of a document, written along the fibres, with a margin of 1.5 cm at the left and a blank space after line 6 of 7.5 cm. The text is only a draft, since there are semicircular marks surrounding some of the letters in three places, which are similar to the marks referred to as *περιγραφαί* and which signify deletions (see *GMAW*² p. 16).

What survives is part of an official document, but its nature is unclear. About half of each line has been lost at the right, as can be deduced from the imperial titles in lines 5–6. It was written after the death of Lucius Verus (6). On the nature of the document, see 2 n. It bears some similarities to VI 957.

[
 Ἐρμία γενομ(ένω) στρ(ατηγῶ) εἰδῶν (τῆς διο[ικήσεως
 τῶ ὑπὸ κληρονόμων Ἀσκληπι[ιάδου
 αὐτῶ μεταδοθ(έντων) ὑπὸ τοῦ πρὸ α[ὐτοῦ
 5 θέσεως διαλογισμοῦ γ (ἔτους) Ἀντων[νίνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου
 καὶ θεοῦ Οὐήρου (καὶ αὐτῶ ἀν. [
 τοῦ νομοῦ ἐγλογιστοῦ *vacat*

2 γενο^σστρ4 μεταδο^θ

5 }

7 1. ἐκλογιστοῦ

2 A *strategus* of the Oxyrhynchite nome, Claudius Demetrius alias Hermias, is known from 166/7, see Bastianini and Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes of Roman Egypt* 93; add P. Thomas 12 verso, which indicates that he was still in office in 167/8. He is presumably the man referred to here, with the rest of his name in the preceding line. It is possible that we should insert a full stop after *στρατηγῶ*.

εἰδῶν τῆς διο[ικήσεως. The restoration *διο[ικήσεως* looks inevitable, but the words *τῆς διοικήσεως* may have been deleted (see introd.). The occurrence of *εἶδη* along with the *διοίκησις* might initially suggest a reference to taxes classed as *εἶδη*, for which see S. L. Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt* 326–8, 332. When, however, *εἶδη τῆς διοικήσεως* occurs elsewhere, it refers to ‘reports relating to the *διοίκησις*’; see P. Heid. VII 398.4 (‘Akten der Finanzverwaltung’). In the Heidelberg papyrus the expression is mostly restored from P. Princ. III 126.4–5 (where it is incorrectly supposed to refer to garden taxes). The Princeton text reads *ἐν τοῖς ἀναπεμπθείσι [sic] ἀπὸ τοῦ τοῦ νομοῦ] ἐγλογιστοῦ εἰς ἐξέτασιν εἶδεσιν τῆς διοικήσεως*; see also LX 4061 6–7 with P. Heid. 398.4–5 n. On this use of *εἶδη*, see P. Meyer 3 introd., P. Petaus 25.5 n., and especially N. Lewis in *BASP* 18 (1981) 126–9, with a list of occurrences on p. 129. As Lewis says, *εἶδη* in these contexts refer to records or dossiers sent from the *conventus* to the *strategus*, usually if not always via the *eclogistes*. In view of the occurrence of the *διαλογισμός* and the *ἐκλογιστής* in lines 5 and 7, we can be confident that this is the meaning of *εἶδη* in 4779.

3 τψ. The cross-bar projects to the left of the upright, which is against reading τω, i.e. στρατη]γψ̄. Most probably we should supply αὐ̄||τψ̄.

4 The expansion μεταδοθ(έντων) depends on the assumption that the participle refers to εἰδῶν. In support can be quoted P. Mil. Vogl. II 98.1-2, ἀπὸ τῶν μεταδοθέντων ἐγλογιστοῦ εἰδῶν ἀπὸ διαλογισμοῦ, and several passages in P. Marmorica, e.g. V 12-13.

ὑπὸ τοῦ πρὸ α[ύτου. The damaged letter at the right is probably α, hence the restoration suggested.

5 θέεωσ. Perhaps ὑπο]θέεωσ, in the meaning given in *Wörterbuch* s.v. 3 'Prozeßgrund', etc.; but there are other possibilities.

5-6 For the supplement, cf. P. Thmuis 1.68.7-8, 90.5-6 and 17-18. Year 3 = 162/3.

6 The passage quoted above from P. Princ. 126 suggests ἀνα[πεμφθέντων ὑπὸ τοῦ] | τοῦ νομοῦ, as does LI **3601** 5-6, πρὸς εἶδος ἀναπεμφθέν ὑπὸ τοῦ διέποντο[ε] τὴν ἐγλογιστίαν τοῦ ν[ομ]οῦ; but the broken letter before the break is hard to read as α, and the restoration is rather short.

7 For the ἐκλογιστής, see most recently P. Heid. VII 398.4-5 n. and P. Bub. II, pp. 5-6, 15-24, with a list of occurrences on p. 6.

J. DAVID THOMAS

4780–4802. DOCUMENTS FROM THE DOSSIER OF THE ‘APION FAMILY’

The bulk of the documents edited in this section come from the ‘Apion archive’, papers from the central headquarters of the estate of the ‘Apion family’ in Oxyrhynchus. The great majority derive from the large find of 18 and 19 March 1897, described by B. P. Grenfell in *Egypt Exploration Fund, Archaeological Report 6* (1897) 8–9. To these are added two texts that belong to the larger ‘dossier’ of the family (**4780** and perhaps **4786**).

Most of the texts have been chosen for their contribution to the prosopography of the family and the chronology of the period, but they also provide much new information on the realities of the estate and its employees.

Prosopography. **4780** attests Fl. Strategius I, the presumed forefather of the family. It is the earliest dated record for Strategius’ *comitiva sacri consistorii*.

4781–4785 are documents addressed to Fl. Strategius II, grandson of the above, and come from the later part of his documented activity in the area of Oxyrhynchus. **4781** offers the *terminus post quem* (10 November 525) and **4784** the *terminus ante quem* (23 September 530) for Strategius’ elevation to the dignity of *patricius* (the latter terminus could be moved to 528, if **4783** dates from that year).

4786 is addressed to a certain Apion, *στρατηλάτης*, who is certainly to be distinguished from Apion II. He might be identical with an Arsinoite magnate of this name, whose relation to the Oxyrhynchite Apions is a matter of speculation.

4787–4799 relate to Fl. Apion II, son of Strategius II; **4787–4791** date from Apion’s lifetime, while **4792–4799** are addressed to the consortium of his heirs or ‘successors’. We have new *termini post* and *ante quem* for Apion’s rise to the patriciate, his death, and the uses of certain terms describing his heirs.

The earliest previous record for the conferment of the title of *patricius* on Fl. Apion II was PSI VI 709 of 19 November 566. **4788** of 15 October 566 now offers the earliest explicit mention of Apion’s patriciate. His promotion may have taken place by 28 September 565, if we assume that PSI III 191.1–2, ἐκ κελ(εύσεως) τοῦ δεσπ[ότου ἡμῶν τοῦ] | ὑπερφυσ(άτου) πατρικ(ίου), refers to Apion II.¹ This was certainly not known at Oxyrhynchus on 12 March 564, the date of **4787**, the latest document in which Apion’s titulature does not contain the title *πατρίκιος*. It would

¹ One may object that the reference to the order of a *patricius* might be a fossil from earlier usage, so that the *patricius* is not necessarily Apion II; cf. XVI **1911** 150–1 (557) κατὰ κέλευσιν τοῦ δεσπότητος ἡμῶν τοῦ κυροῦ | πατρικίου Στρατηγίου, which refers to Strategius II, dead at that time (see B. Palme, *ZRG* 115 (1998) 296 n. 18). But in **1911** we have a customary payment to a monastery (cf. LV **3804** 186–7), instigated by Strategius, whereas in PSI 191 the payment is made to a *μειζότερος* who is apparently in the employ of the *patricius*.

be interesting to know whether Apion received the title from Justinian (†11.xi.565), or from Justin II soon after his enthronement.²

Apion II was previously thought to have died between 17 May 577 (XVI 1896) and 21 March 579 (I 135 = W. *Chr.* 384). 4790 and 4791 tell us that in the central offices of his estate at Oxyrhynchus Apion was believed to be alive still in the early months of 578, in fact as late as 25 March 578 (4791). His death was known at Oxyrhynchus on 19 January 579, when his heirs make their first appearance (4792). In view of the slowness of communication in the winter months, Apion II most probably died in the course of 578.

For some eight years after Apion’s death, his heirs are not mentioned by name, but are referred to collectively as κληρονόμοι and ἄνδρες, διάδοχοι and ἄνδρες, or διάδοχοι and πρόσωπα. Some of the documents edited in this section offer the earliest and others the latest instances for the use of these terms, whose chronological distribution may now be presented as follows:

κληρονόμοι . . . ἄνδρασι 19.i.579 (LXX 4792) – 8.x.583 (LXX 4796)
 διαδόχοι . . . ἄνδρασι 11.i.584 (I 137) – 20.xi.584 (VI 996 = SB XVI 12484)
 διαδόχοι . . . πρόσωποις 26(?) .ix.586 (LXX 4798) – 29.xii.587 (XVI 1988)

The significance of these terms and the thorny issue of the succession of Apion II will not be discussed here; I refer to the existing literature in the notes ad loc. [Further texts bearing on this subject, some of them discovered after this section was completed, will be published later.]

4801, and very probably 4800 and 4802, come from the papers of the estate of Fl. Apion III, the last known member of the family.

Chronology. 4789 offers the earliest mention of Tiberius II in a papyrus, while 4792 is the earliest record of his sole rule, and contributes to our knowledge of his regnal year count at that time. (4792 also shows that Oxyrhynchus abandoned the name it had taken in honour of Justin II upon the latter’s death, and reverted to its traditional name.) Of some note also is the unusual nomenclature of Tiberius II and Mauricius in 4795.

Geographica. There are a number of new toponyms: the ἐποίκια Φλώρου Πέρα (4780), Μητροδώρου (4781), Τροῖλου (4801), Σεκούνδου (4802), and the μηχαναί (artificially irrigated farms) called Τοῦ Πωμαρίου (4780), Cιττα (4785), Τοῦ Νοτίνου Χωρίου (4797), Παρνατης (4798), Τῶν Τεκτόνων (4799), and two others whose names are damaged (4782, 4801).

² Another early reference to Apion’s patriciate comes from XVIII 2204, an account of a *pronoetes* for a 14th indiction = 565/6 (this was the fiscal indiction, ending on 30 April); the account must have been drawn up in the course of indiction 15 = 566/7, and perhaps not long after the end of indiction 14.

Agrarian realities. As expected, many of these texts attest *ἐναπόγραφοι γεωργοί*. There are some new details: women *ἐναπόγραφοι* in charge of those irrigated farms called *μηχαναί* (**4797**, **4801**); an *ἐναπόγραφος* who has held the office of village headman, and who pledges his ‘present and future’ property (**4794**); and the first mention in a papyrus of the *τύχη* (*condicio*) of an *ἐναπόγραφος καὶ γεωργός* (**4790**), whereas normally the reference is to the *τύχη* of the *ἐναπόγραφος tout court*.

4780. RECEIPT FOR REPLACEMENT PART(S) OF AN IRRIGATOR

14 IB.206/G(a)

23.8 × 8.3 cm

13 September 457?

Plate XI

The top of a well-attested type of document, addressed to a *comes sacri consistorii*, curator of the Oxyrhynchite estates of the empress Aelia Eudocia; the papyrus breaks off just before the details of the receipt were stated. The name of the *comes* has not survived, but there is little doubt that he is Flavius Strategius, the earliest known representative of the ‘Apion family’. The consular date clause is damaged and cannot be restored with certainty; if the text dates to 457 (see below, 1 n.), it would provide the earliest dated reference to Strategius’ *comitiva*.

This is the second earliest document of this kind, after P. Mil. II 64 (440; see LXVIII **4688** 2 n.), and only the third to relate to the *domus divina*, with P. Mil. 64 and SB XXIV 16312 (549?). For a list of documents of this type, see L. E. Tacoma, *ZPE* 120 (1998) 128–9; subsequent additions are LXVII **4615**, LXVIII ?**4696**, **4697**, LXIX **4755**, and now LXX **4780**, **4781–4785**, **4788**, **4796–4801**. For the background, see D. Bonneau, *Pap. Congr. XII* (1970) 45–62.

ὑπατεία-

].ν[.[]ου τῶν λαμπ[ροτάτω]ν, Θῶθ ις.

Φλαουῖω Στρατηγίῳ τῷ μεγαλ[οπ]ρ[ε]π[ε]στάτῳ κόμετι τ[οῦ θ]είου συνεδρίου φροντίζοντι τῶν
 πραγμάτ]ων τῆς αἰωνίας ἡμῶν δεσποίνης Εὐδοκίης διακειμένων κατὰ τὴν Ὁξυρυγχιτῶν
 Αὐρήλιοι Ἀ]ε[ί]ων υἱὸς Πέτρου καὶ Θεόδωρος Ἀπφούτος ἀπὸ ἐποικίου Φλώρου Πέρα τῆς
 5 αὐτῆς πόλ]εως. χ[ρ]ε[ί]ας καὶ νῦν γενομέ[ν]ης εἰς τὴν ὑφ’ ἡμᾶς δεσποτικὴν μηχ[ανήν
 Τοῦ Πωμαρί]ου καλο[υμένη]ν ἀντλοῦσαν [εἰς τὸ] αὐτὸ πωμάρι[ον κ]αὶ εἰς ἀρόσιμ[ον γῆν
].[]....[]..εωσι[]..[

Back, downwards along the fibres:

† χ]ειρ(ογραφία) Ἀείωγο[ς - - -

8 χ]ειρ

‘... consulship . . . , *viri clarissimi*, Thoth 16.‘To Flavius Strategius, the most magnificent *comes sacri consistorii*, curator of the estates of our

eternal lady Eudocia which are situated in the (city) of the Oxyrhynchites, Aurelii Aeion, son of Petrus, and Theodorus, son of Apphus, from the hamlet of “Phloru Beyond” of the same city. Since now too a need has arisen in the imperial irrigator under our charge called “Of the Orchard”, which waters the same orchard and arable land, . . .’

Back: ‘Cheirograph of Aeion . . .’

1 The way Eudocia is referred to in 3 suggests that she was alive, so that the text should either predate or date from not long after the empress’s death in 460. The consular formula featured two non-imperial consuls. Of the various consular and postconsular formulas I have tried, [† μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν Φλαουτίων Βαρ]άβ[ου καὶ Ἰωάν]νου τῶν λαμπ[ροτάτω]ν seems to suit the traces and spacing best; if this holds, the date would correspond to 13 September 457, and this would be the first Egyptian dating by the consuls of 456; see *CSBE*² 198. (A date by Constantinus & Rufus coss. 457, seems less likely.) It would also provide the earliest dated attestation to Strategius’ *comitiva sacri consistorii*.

2 Φλαουτίω Στρατηγίῳ τῶ]. Cf **3585** 1 and **3586** 1. On this Strategius, now called ‘Strategius I’, see LXIII **4389** 1 n.; LXVII **4614** 1 n.; R. Mazza, *L’archivio degli Apioni: Terra, lavoro e proprietà senatoria nell’Egitto tardoantico* (2001) 52–3; LXVIII **4685** introd. Strategius’ career is of some interest for the study of the new provincial nobility in the Late Empire: he rose from being an ordinary *curialis* (L **3584** 2–3) to the second senatorial rank (*vir spectabilis*) while in imperial service (L **3585** 1–3, **3586** 1–3, SB XX 14091.1–3).

P. Sarris, *EHR* 119.481 (Apr. 2004) 282–3, has raised the possibility that this Strategius is to be identified with a *dux* attested in a letter of Isidorus of Pelusium (*PLRE* II 1033, Strategius 4), but this is difficult. In his earliest appearance in the papyri, Strategius is a *curialis* (πολιτευόμενος) and administrator of the *domus divina* (L **3584**; perhaps P. Mil. II 64.2); as we saw, we find him in imperial employ also after his elevation to the second senatorial grade. Military commanders at that time were ‘professional soldiers’; it is hard to place a stint as a lowly functionary of the *domus divina* in a soldier’s career—but an *ex-dux* could well have been involved in the running of the estates of the *domus divina*. (Sarris assumes that Strategius was a ‘*dux* of the Egyptian province of Augustamnica’, but this office did not exist. Pelusium, capital of the province of Augustamnica, was under the command of the *comes limitis Aegypti* (*Not. Dign. Or.* XXVIII); Strategius was probably not one, insofar as he is styled δουκί, not κόμετι (cf. C. Zuckerman, *An Tard* 6 (1998) 138, though contrast J.-M. Carrié, *An Tard* 6, 112). It is likely that he was posted in a province in the vicinity of Pelusium.)

One may ask whether the *dux* Strategius is to be identified with one Strategius who may have flourished in Oxyrhynchus in the early fifth century, the *vir clarissimus* whose heirs are mentioned in LXVIII **4685**, a text assignable to the first half of the fifth century. Isidorus of Pelusium died around 435–40, so that the date would suit. If the deceased Strategius ever was a *dux*, his clarissimate would imply that he held office in the late fourth century (*duces* had become *spectabiles* by the turn of the century; see Zuckerman, loc. cit. 144). But we know nothing else about this Strategius that would allow a verdict.

Another identification that calls for comment is that put forward by R. Delmaire, *CRIPEL* 10 (1988) 124 (no. 30), who saw in Strategius I the *comes largitionum* of Alexandria (Egyptian diocese) in CPR VII 26 = SB XX 14674, assigned to the late fifth or early sixth century. But the identification with Strategius II (previously ‘I’), suggested by J. Gascou, K. A. Worp, *Tyche* 3 (1988) 105, seems more likely, especially since this latter Strategius went on to become *praefectus Augustalis*, and later *comes sacrarum largitionum* in Constantinople.

κόμετι τ[οῦ θ]είου συνεδρίου. The title is a hellenized version of the Latin *comes sacri consistorii*; συνεδρίου eventually gave way to κονσιτωρίου. On this *comitiva*, and a list of its holders as attested in papyri, see CPR XXIV pp. 59–61, 68–71; also LXVIII **4696** 4 n. (p. 156).

2–3 φροντίζοντι τῶν [πραγμάτ]ων . . . διακειμένων κατὰ τὴν Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν. The construction

parallels SB XX 14091.2–4 φροντίζοντι τῶν πραγμάτων . . . διακειμένων κατὰ | [τὴν κώμην] Cέφθα (but τὴν Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν seems a likelier restoration); cf. also XVI **1899** 5–6 (476) διοικητοῦ [π]ραγμάτων τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐνδοξοτάτου ἀνδρὸς διακειμένων κατὰ τὴν Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν. L **3585** 2 and **3586** 2 have φροντίζοντι τῶν ἐν τῷ Ὀξυρυγχιτῆ πραγμάτων; cf. also SEG XLIV 909.3 (Mylasa; 480) φροντίζοντος καὶ αὐτοῦ πραγμάτων τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπιφανεστάτης οἰκίας. φροντίζων and φροντιστής are renderings of the Latin *curator*; cf. the case of Fl. Theodorus, designated as φρο(ντίζων) (see BL X 46) πραγμάτων of Theodora in CPR V 18.3, but as *κουράτωρ* of the estates of Justinian in SB XXIV 16312.8. On the issue, see also CPR V 18.3 n.; D. Feissel, I. Kaygusuz, *T&MByz* 9 (1985) 417 n. 88; B. Palme, *Eirene* 34 (1998) 101–3.

Strategius' authority was probably limited to the Oxyrhynchite part of the empress's estates; contrast the curators of the *domus* of Justinian in SB XXIV 16312, the *domus* being described as διακειμ(ένου) κατὰ | ταύτην τ[ὴν] Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν πόλιν καὶ τὴν ταύτης ἐνορίαν (10–11).

On curators of imperial estates, see R. Delmaire, *Largesses sacrées et res privata* (1989) 218–33; for the few known functionaries of the *domus divina* in Egypt, see Delmaire, *CRIPEL* 10 (1988) 129–31 (nos. 49–55).

3 τῆς αἰωνίας ἡμῶν δεσποίνης Εὐδοκίης. On Aelia Eudocia, wife of Theodosius II, see *PLRE* II 408–9; K. G. Holum, *Theodosian Empresses: Women and Imperial Dominion in Late Antiquity* (1982) 112–46; E. Livrea, *ZPE* 119 (1997) 50–4. She was the first empress in possession of a *domus*; see Delmaire, *Largesses sacrées et res privata* 226–7, 230.

The titlature by which Eudocia is described differs from that in other papyri: in **3585** 2, and probably SB XX 14091.2–3, she is styled εὐσεβεστάτης καὶ ἐπιφανεστάτης ἡμῶν δεσποίνης; **3586** 2–3 apparently omits ἐπιφανεστάτης. It is unclear whether this is of any significance. In general, the expressions ὁ αἰώνιος ἡμῶν δεσπότης or ἡ αἰωνία ἡμῶν δέσποινα refer to the ruling emperor or empress (in CPR V 18.3–4 (538?) θειοτά(της) καὶ | εὐσεβ(εστάτης) ἡμῶν δεσπο(ίνης) καὶ αἰων(ίας) Ἀγούς[τ(ης)] βασι(ίσεως) Θεοδώρας, the way Theodora is referred to was an argument in favour of dating the text to 538, before Theodora's death). Would Eudocia have been called ἡ αἰωνία ἡμῶν δέσποινα after the death of Theodosius II in 450? But it may be that the phrase is a fossil of an earlier use.

Εὐδοκίης. For the ending, also attested in SB XX 14091.3, see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 3; **3585** 3 has Εὐδοκίας.

4–5 ἐποικίου Φλώρου Πέρα τῆς | [αὐτῆς πόλ]εως. This settlement has not been attested previously. It need not be associated with the κτήμα Πέρα attested in Apion accounts (XVI **2018** 6, 20, etc.; **2034** 8, 15; 2035 23; **2044** 6); cf. Πέρα Μερμέρθων in XIX **2244** 8, or the Heracleopolite settlement called Πέρα.

The expression τῆς [αὐτῆς πόλ]εως may indicate that the hamlet was part of the *territorium* of the *civitas* rather than of the suburbs of Oxyrhynchus; see LXVIII **4681** 7 n. Alternatively, as G. Azzarello suggests, πέρα (l. πέραν) could be taken with what follows, indicating that the hamlet lay 'beyond' the city, i.e. on the other side of the Bahr Yusuif; cf. P. Amh. II 149.5–6 ἀπὸ ἐποικίου Νήσου Λαχανίας πέραν τῆς Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν | πόλεως.

5 δεσποτικὴν μηχανήν. Cf. P. Mil. II 64.5, SB XXIV 16312.16. On μηχαναί in general, see below, **4785** 13–14 n.

6 Τοῦ Πωμαρίου καλο[υμένη]ν. The name of the μηχανή is restored from the following [εἰς τὸ] αὐτὸ πωμάρ[ιον]; cf. XVI **1988** 17–18 (587) μηχανήν καλουμένην Τῶν Χωρίων | ἀντλοῦσαν εἰς τὰ αὐτὰ χωρία. (There is no need to identify it with the μηχανή τοῦ πωμαρίου Πκεμρόχ of XVI **1913** 22 (555?).) For another μηχανή irrigating an orchard, cf. LI **3640** 2–3 (533) μηχανήν ἀντλοῦσαν εἰς τὸ μικρὸν πωμάρ[ιον]; cf. also PSI VII 809.4 (VI). See also **4782** 3–4 n.

ἀρόσιμον. Or ἀροσίμη. Both forms occur in texts of this kind; see e.g. **4781** 10, **4785** 14, **4788** 13 (ἀροσίμη), **4797** 7, **4798** 9, **4799** 14 (ἀρόσιμον), and generally Gignac, *Grammar* ii 109.

8 The endorsement presumably ran χ[ειρο]γραφία Ἀείωρο[ς] Πέτρου καὶ Θεοδώρου Ἀφροῦτος

ὑποδοχῆς, followed by a reference to the spare part(s) received. (In LXVIII 4697 16, after Πε[κύριος restore ὑποδοχῆς κυλλῆς κυκλάδος α (καὶ) μεγάλου ἐργάτου α (καὶ) --- .)

N. GONIS

4781. RECEIPT FOR AN AXLE

53 1B.26(F)/A(3)a + 54 1B.26(E)/B(2)a

8 × 21.1 cm

10 November 525

The upper part of a receipt for an axle, intended as a replacement part of an irrigator. It is addressed to Fl. Strategius II by an ἐναπόγραφος γεωργός from the ἐποίκιον Μητροδώρου, a new Oxyrhynchite locality.

After XVI 1984 (28.x.523) and LXVII 4616 (30.ix.525), this is the third and latest text from the period between Strategius' tenure of the *comitiva domesticorum* and his rise to the patriciate, which had taken place by 23 September 530 (4784).

A sheet-join runs 2.7 cm from the left-hand edge.

†] ὑπατεία[ς] Φλαουί[ου Φιλοξένου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου, Ἀθῦρ ιδ, ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) δ.
 Φ]λαουίῳ Στρατηγίῳ [τῷ ἐνδοξοτάτῳ καὶ ὑπερφυστάτῳ ἀπὸ ὑπάτων
 κ]αὶ στρατηλάτῃ γεουχοῦ[ντι καὶ ἐνταῦθα τῇ λαμπρᾷ Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν πόλει,
 δ]ιὰ Μηνᾶ οἰκέτου τοῦ κ[αὶ ἐπερωτῶντος καὶ προσπορίζοντος τῷ ἰδίῳ
 5 δεσπότη τῷ αὐτῷ ὑπερφ[υστάτῳ ἀνδρὶ τὴν ἀγωγὴν καὶ ἐνοχίην,
 Αὐρήλιος Ἀνοῦπ υἱὸς Διογένο[υς μητρὸς πατὴρ ὀρμώμενος
 ἀπὸ ἐποικίου Μητροδώρου τοῦ Ὀξυρυ[γχι(ίτου)] υ[ομοῦ κτ]ήματ[ος τῆς ὑμῶν
 ὑπερφυσείας, ἐναπόγραφος γεωργός, χαίρειν. χρείας καὶ [νῦν
 γεναμένης εἰς τὴν ὑπ' ἐμὲ γεουχικὴν μηχανὴν καλου[μένην
 10 Καινῆς [ἀ]ντλοῦσαν εἰς ἄμπελον καὶ εἰς ἀροσίμην γῆν [ἄξιονος
 ἐνός, ἀνελθὼν ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως ἡξίωσα τὴν ὑμ[ῶν ὑπερφύειαν
 κελεῦσαί μοι τοῦτον παρασχεθῆναι. καὶ εὐθέ[ω]ς ἡ ὑμῶν
 ὑπερφύεια φροντίδα ποιουμένη τῆς συστάσεως
 τῶν αὐτῆς πραγμάτων ἐκέλευσέν μοι το[ῦ]τον δοθῆναι
 15 ἐκ τῶν ἐνεχθέντων νέων ἀπὸ τῆς [μ]εγαλοπόλεως
 Ἀλεξανδρείας, ὄντινα καινὸν ἐπιτήδιον ἀντλη[τικὸν
 εὐάρεστον ἑδεξάμην εἰς ἀναπλήρωσιν(ιν) πάντων τῶν
 μηχανικῶν ὀργάνων ἐν τῇ σήμερον ἡμέρᾳ, ἧτις ἐστὶν
 Ἀθῦρ τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτῃ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἔτο[υ]ς [ς]β ροα τ[ῆς
 20 πα]ρούσης τετάρ[της] ἰ[νδ]ικτίωνο[ς], [ὑδροπαροχίας
].[

Back, downwards, along the fibres:

† χειρογραφή(ία) Ἀνοῦπ υἱοῦ Διογένους ἀπὸ ἐποικ(ίου) Μητροδ[ώρου ὑποδοχ(ῆς) ἄξιονος ἐνόσ

1 ὑπατεία[ς] 2 φ]λαουῖω 5 ὑπερφ[υεστατω 6 υἱός 8 ὑπερφυεῖας
9 ὑπ 13 ὑπερφυεῖα 16 l. ἐπιτήδειον 17 ἀναπληρωσ} 22 χειρογραφή υἱοῦ
εποικ

‘In the consulship of Flavius Philoxenus, *vir clarissimus*, Hathyr 14, indiction 4.

‘To Flavius Strategius, the most glorious and most extraordinary *ex consulibus* and *magister militum*, landowner here also in the splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, through Menas, *oiketes*, who also puts the formal question and supplies for his own master, the same most extraordinary man, the conduct of and responsibility for (the transaction), I, Aurelius Anup, son of Diogenes, mother . . . , from the hamlet of Metrodorus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, a holding of your excellence, a registered farmer, greeting.

‘Since now too a need for one axle has arisen in the estate irrigator in my charge called “Καίνες”, which waters vine-land and arable land, I went up to the city and requested your excellence to order this to be provided to me. And immediately your excellence, showing regard for the state of your affairs, ordered this to be given to me from the new ones that were brought from the great city of Alexandria; this (axle), being new, serviceable, suitable for irrigation, satisfactory, I received as completion of all the irrigation implements this very day, which is the fourteenth of Hathyr of the current year 202/171 of the present fourth indiction, for the irrigation of the crops . . .’

Back: ‘Cheirograph of Anup, son of Diogenes, from the hamlet of Metrodorus, for the receipt of one axle.’

1 On the consulship of Fl. Philoxenus, see *CLRE* 584–5, 586–7; *CSBE*² 204–5.

2–3 Φ]λαουῖω στρατηγίω [--- ἀπὸ ὑπάτων κ]αὶ στρατηλάτῃ. Until very recently, this person was known in modern literature by the name ‘Strategius I’; following the discovery of an older member of his family with the same name, most probably his grandfather (see **4780**), he is now called ‘Strategius II’. See Mazza, *L’archivio degli Apioni* 53–9; also *LXVII 4614* 1 n., **4616** 2–3 n. (relevant for his titulature here), 3–4 n.; *Tyche* 17 (2002) 90, 92; and below, **4784** introd., 3 ff. n., 4 n., **4785** 3–4 n.

ἀπὸ ὑπάτων κ]αὶ στρατηλάτῃ. *XVI 1984* 3 and *LXVII 4616* 2–3 give the titles in reverse order. Later documents likewise attest more than one order; see **4785** 3–4 n.

7 ἐποικίου Μητροδώρου. This settlement is new. The name was not limited to localities of a single administrative district: hamlets thus called are attested in the Arsinoite nome, divisions of Heraclides and Polemon, while there was a Hermopolite κλήρος Μητροδώρου; see A. Calderini, S. Daris, *Dizionario dei nomi geografici e topografici dell’Egitto greco-romano* III 280.

7–8 τοῦ Ὁξυρυ[γχι(ίτου)] υ[ομοῦ, κτ]ήματ[ος τῆς ὑμῶν] ὑπερφυεῖας. For the collocation, cf. *XVI 1983* 8–9 (535).

8 ἐναπόγραφος γεωργός. Later texts have ἐναπόγραφος αὐτῆς γεωργός. The pronoun is absent from *XVI 1982* 7 (497), (probably) *LXX 4782* 2 (528), **4784** 10, *XXXVI 2779* 9 (both of 530), *XVI 1983* 9 (535), *SB XVIII 13949.6* (541), and *XVI 1985* 8–9 (543).

9–10 μηχανὴν καλου[μένην Καίνης. μηχαναί of this name are attested in *XVI 2037* 14, *XVIII 2197* 6, 207, *XIX 2244* 69, *PSI I 60.14*. Apparently not all these references are to the same μηχανή.

10 ἄξιονος is restored on the grounds of space. It should also be noted that all references to spare parts ‘brought from Alexandria’ (15–16) relate to axles.

13 φροντίδα ποιουμένη. The same collocation occurs in **4785** 17 (it is restored in **4782** 8); *XVI 1982* 14 has φροντίδα τιθέμενο[ν]. All other documents of this kind, the earliest being *XVI 1900* 17–18 (528), have πρόνοιαν in place of φροντίδα.

There is little semantic difference between *πρόνοια* and *φροντίδα*; cf. P. Cair. Isid. 77.22–3 (320) τῆς γῆς | πρό[νο]ιαν ποιήσασθαι, which becomes τῆς δὲ γῆς πᾶσαν φροντίδα ποιήσασθαι in l. 25. P. Giss. 82.20 (117) πᾶσαν φροντίδα καὶ πρόνοιαν ποιεῖσθαι, and SB XVIII 13260.26–7 (328) πρόνοιαν κα[ὶ] φ[ροντίδα ποιήσας]θαι, rely on restoration, but the texts seem secure enough.

14 τῶν αὐτῆς πραγμάτων. αὐτῆς is rare in this collocation; it otherwise occurs only in PSI I 60.19 (595), while XVI 1982 15 has τῶν αὐτοῦ πραγμάτων. We usually find *ἐαυτῆς*.

ἐκέλευσέν μοι το[ῦ]τον δοθῆναι. We expect *παρέσχετο* instead of *ἐκέλευσεν* . . . *δοθῆναι*; *ἐκέλευσεν* is found only once more in a similar context, XVI 1983 16–17 (535) καὶ δὴ τοῦτο ἐκέλευσεν καὶ | παρέσχετό μοι; cf. also 14 *κελεῦσαι δοθῆναι*. I think it less likely that *ἐκέλευσεν* is an influence from *κελεῦσαί μοι τοῦτον* in 12.

15–16 ἐκ τῶν ἐνεχθέντων νέων ἀπὸ . . . Ἀλεξανδρείας. Cf. 4782 10–11, 4785 19–20. Axles brought from Alexandria are also mentioned in XIX 2244 17–21, 42, 60, 62, 74, while imports from Alexandria are implied in 24, 56, 58, which have ἐκ τῶν ἐνεχθέντων νῦν (cf. 60 ἐ. τ. ἐ. νῦν ἀπ' Ἀλεξ[ανδρείας]). 2244 dates from 543/4 or 558/9; see J. Banaji, *PBA* 96 (1999) 210 n. 114, with *ZPE* 150 (2004) 201. Bonneau, *Le Régime administratif de l'eau du Nil* 231, has suggested that 'Alexandrie serait le bureau centralisateur des Apions pour leurs affaires privées; les axes venant d'Alexandrie seraient ceux que les Apions eux-mêmes ont fourni pour leur propre compte.' This is pure speculation. One may ask whether the practice of importing axles from Alexandria, not attested in later documents, was discontinued in the second half of the sixth century, perhaps because the needs for axles could be met on the basis of local resources. But it should be noted that most of the entries in 2244 make no reference to Alexandria. (In 2779 the axle is provided through an *οἰκέτης* of Strategius.)

[μ]εγαλοπόλεως Ἀλεξανδρείας. On this appellation of Alexandria, see D. Hagedorn, *ZPE* 86 (1991) 248.

16 ὄντινα. Cf. 4782 11, 4785 21; also XVI 1899 16 (476) ἦντινα ὑποδεξάμενος, 1982 17 (497) ὄντινα ὑποδεξάμενος. These documents attest the earlier, 'grammatical' construction; in later texts (already in XVI 1900 of 528) the pronoun is omitted; cf. e.g. 4798 15, 4799 19, 4800 10.

19–20 Oxyrhynchite era year 202/171 = indiction 4 = 525/6; see *CSBE*² 148.

21 will have continued, *καρπῶν τῆς πέμπτης ἐπινεμήσεως*.

N. GONIS

4782. RECEIPT FOR AN AXLE

54 1B.25(B)/C(5)d

4.2 × 12.1 cm

9–25 January 528
Plate IV

This fragment, giving line-ends from the middle part of the document, is published chiefly on account of its relatively early date. What is mainly worthy of notice are a few lines not easy to restore satisfactorily (letter size is variable, and no reliable estimate of the length of the breaks seems possible), and a new name of a *μηχανή* (mostly lost). The text conforms to certain patterns observable in other early documents of this type; see 1–2 n., 10–11 n., 11 n.

The recipient of the axle is an *ἐναπόγραφος γεωργός*. There is hardly any doubt that the addressee of the document was Fl. Strategius II.

A sheet-join runs 2 cm from the right-hand edge. The back is blank so far as it is preserved.

. τοῦ Ὀξυρρυγχίτου νομοῦ, ἐν]απόγραφος
 γεωργός. χρείας καὶ νῦν γεναμένης εἰς τ]ήν ὑπ' ἐμέ
 γεουχικήν μηχανήν καλουμένην -]. ν τοῦ ἐκεῖσε
 - - - ἀντλοῦσαν εἰς - - - - πω]μάριον ἄξιονος
 5 ἐνός, ἀνελθὼν ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως ἡξίω]σα τὴν ὑμῶν
 ὑπερφύειαν διὰ τῶν - - - αὐτ]ῆ προσοικόντων
 ὥστε κελεῦσαί μοι αὐτὸν παρασχεθῆναι.] καὶ εὐθέως
 ἢ ὑμῶν ὑπερφύεια φροντίδα ποιου]μένη τῆς
 κυστάσεως τῶν ἐαυτῆς πραγμά]των τὸν αὐτὸν
 10 ἄξιονα παρέσχετό μοι ἐκ τῶν ἐνεχ]θέντων
 νέων ἀπὸ τῆς μεγαλοπόλεως Ἀλεξά]νδρίας, ὄντινα
 καινὸν ἐπιτήδ(ε)ιον ἀντλητικὸν εὐάρ]εστον
 ἐδεξάμην εἰς ἀναπλήρωσιν πάντων] τῶν μηχανικῶν
 ὀργάνων ἐν τῇ σήμερον ἡμέρα, ἥτις] ἐστὶν Τύβι
 15 - - - - - τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους] $\overline{c\delta}$ ρογ τῆς

6 l. προσοικόντων

11 l. Ἀλεξανδρείας

. . . of the Oxyrhynchite nome, a registered farmer. Since now too a need for one axle has arisen in the estate irrigator under my charge called . . . which waters . . . orchard, I went up to the city and requested your excellence through your . . . subordinates to order that this be provided to me. And immediately your excellence, showing regard for the state of your affairs, provided me the same axle from the new ones that were brought from the great city of Alexandria; this (axle), being new, serviceable, suitable for irrigation, satisfactory, I received as completion of all the irrigating implements this very day, which is the . . . of Tybi of the current year 204/173 of the . . .

1 The line will have started with an abstract such as ὑπερφυείας; cf. e.g. **4781** 8.

1-2 ἐν]απόγραφος [γεωργός. There is no space for restoring αὐτῆς at the beginning of the line. The absence of the pronoun is typical of earlier texts; see **4781** 8 n.

3-4 -]. ν τοῦ ἐκεῖσε [- . This is part of the name of a μηχανή not known otherwise. It is tempting to take] ν as the end of καλουμένην (the traces would admit η), so that τοῦ ἐκεῖσε would be the start of the name of the μηχανή; e.g. τοῦ ἐκεῖσε | [πωμαρίου (cf. next note). But this would make the line rather short, though cf. l. 9. For another μηχανή whose name includes an adverb, cf. XVI **1990** 17-18 (591) μηχανήν καλουμένην Ἐσωθεν Τοῦ Αὐτοῦ Κτήματος. (I am grateful to G. Azzarello for comments on this passage.)

4 ἀντλοῦσαν εἰς - - - πω]μάριον. It is not clear what one should restore in the break. Possibilities include: (i) ἄ. εἰς πω]μάριον, the name of the μηχανή occupying the best part of the lacuna; (ii) ἄ. εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ πω]μάριον, as in **4780** 6; (iii) ἄ. εἰς (land parcel, e.g. ἄμπελον) καὶ εἰς πω]μάριον—not paralleled from elsewhere. What the papyrus probably did not have was ἀντλοῦσαν εἰς ἀρόσιμον γῆν καὶ εἰς πωμάριον, since ἀρόσιμον γῆν always stands in second place; cf. e.g. **4780** 6, **4785** 14, **4799** 14.

On μηχαναί irrigating orchards, see **4780** 6 n.

6 ὑπερφύειαν, 8 ὑπερφύεια. This abstract noun, indicative of Strategius' high rank, is restored on the basis of **4781** 8, 13.

6 τῶν - - - αὐτ]ῆ προσοικόντων. XVI **1983** 14 (535) has τῶν λαμπροτάτων αὐτῆ προσοικόντων; the epithet would fit here only if it was abbreviated.

προσοικόντων, l. προσοικόντων. Apparently not a phonetic mistake, but one due to false etymology (< οἶκος).

8 φροντίδα ποιου]μένη. I have restored φροντίδα instead of πρόνοιαν on account of the date of the text; see **4781** 13 n.

10-11 ἐνεχ]θέντων [νέων ἀπὸ τῆς μεγαλοπόλεως Ἀλεξ]ανδρίας. See **4781** 15-16 n.

11 ὄντινα. See **4781** 16 n.

15 The length of the break at the start of the line suggests that the ordinal indicating the day number must be one between the 13th and the 29th. Year 204/173, coterminous with indiction 6 in Oxyrhynchus, corresponds to 527/8; see *CSBE*² 148. Tybi 13-29 in that year = 9-25 January.

16 will have continued, παρούσης ἕκτης ἰνδ(ικτίωνος), ὑδροπαροχίας (δε) καρπῶν τῆς ἐβδόμης ἐπινεμήσεως.

N. GONIS

4783. RECEIPT FOR REPLACEMENT PART(S) OF AN IRRIGATOR(?)

54 1B.25(B)/B(4)b

4 × 7 cm

528 or 533 or 534

A scrap of a document of the same kind as **4782** (see below, 8 n.), which complements the 'dossier' of documents attesting Fl. Strategius II from the time of his patriciate. In case it dates to 528 (see 1-2 n.), this would be the earliest record for the bestowal of this dignity on Strategius.

† ὑπατεία[ς τοῦ δεσπότης ἡμῶν Φλ(αουῖου) Ἰουστινιανοῦ
 τοῦ αἰωνί[ου Ἀυγούστου τὸ ., month day ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) n.
 Φλαουῖω [Στρατηγίω τῷ πανευφύμῳ καὶ
 εὐκλεεστ[άτῳ ἀπὸ ὑπάτων στρατηλάτῃ καὶ
 5 πατρικ[ίω πρωτεύοντι κατὰ τε τὴν
 Ἡρακλεο[πολιτῶν καὶ κατὰ ταύτην τὴν
 λ[αμπρ]ᾶ[ν Ὁξυρυγχι(ιτῶν) πόλιν

Back, downwards, along the fibres:

† χειρογρ(αφία) [

3 φλαουῖω

8 χειρογρ

'In the consulship of our master Flavius Iustinianus for the . . . time, month day, indiction n.

'To Flavius Strategius, the all-renowned and most well-famed *ex consulibus*, *magister militum*, and *patricius*, *principalis* both in the city of the Heracleopolites and in this splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites . . .'

Back: 'Cheirograph . . .'

1–2 The reference is to the second or third or fourth consulate of Justinian (in 2, read τὸ β or τὸ γ or τὸ δ), i.e., to 528 or 533 or 534; see *CLRE* 591, 600–5, and *CSBE*² 205–6 (in the earliest text dated by his fourth consulate, viz. SB VIII 9876 of 16.vii.534, Justinian appears alone, without his Western ‘colleague’). In view of the papyrological attestations of these three consulates, the date of **4783** should fall in September–December 528, October–December 533, or July–December 534. The indiction would have been the 7th or the 12th or the 13th. However, the two Oxyrhynchite documents attesting Justinian’s third consulate add *χρυσὸν ἔτος* after the iteration number (PSI III 216.2; SB XIV 11539.2, with BL VIII 371), which cannot be restored in the break here; this may militate against a date in 533. (It should be excluded that Fl. Iustinus Aug. cos. 519 is meant, since Strategius II was not a *patricius* at that date; see **4784** introd.)

3 ff. Cf. **4784** 3 ff. and n.

8 *χειρογρ(αφία)* [. Documents thus called in the endorsement are usually receipts for replacement parts of irrigators; see LXVIII **4696** 9 n. An exception is XVI **1983** (535), which concerns ‘implements for a mill’. Thus LVIII **3950**, **3951**, **3953**, docketed as *χειρογραφαίαι* and labelled as ‘fragments of contracts’, may be receipts for spare parts of irrigating machines (at the end of **3953** 10, *χρ]εῖας κ[αὶ νῦν* looks just possible, which would clinch the argument for the nature of this text).

N. GONIS

4784. RECEIPT FOR REPLACEMENT PART(S) OF AN IRRIGATOR

53 1B.26(D)/D(7)a

c.13 × c.14 cm

23 September 530

The upper part of a receipt for one or more replacement parts of an irrigating machine in the estate of Fl. Strategius II, given to an *ἐναπόγραφος γεωργός*. It is of interest for offering the earliest record for Strategius’ elevation to the dignity of *patricius*; this took place between 10 November 525 (**4781**) and 23 September 530 (**4784**). See also **4783** introd.

The papyrus has been affected by humidity and is very brittle; there are a few unplaced scraps (not transcribed) and debris. I have not ventured to open some small folded parts which conceal letters that may be securely restored. The back is blank so far as it is preserved.

† ὑπατεία Φλα]ουῶν Ὀρέστ[ου] καὶ Λαμπαδίου τ[ὴν] λαμπροτάτων,
Θῶθ κ̅ς, ἰνδ(ικτί)ο(νος) θ, ἐν Ὀξυρύχ(ων).

Φλαουῶ C]τρατηγίω τῷ πανευφήμω [κ]αὶ εὐκλεεστάτῳ

ἀπὸ ὑπάτῳ]ν στρατηλάτῃ [κ]αὶ πατρικίῳ πρωτεύοντι κατὰ τε

5 τὴν Ἡρακλ]εοπολιτῶν [κ]αὶ κατὰ ταύτην τὴν λαμπρὰν Ὀξυρυχ(ιτῶν)

πόλιν, διὰ Μηνᾶ οἰ]κέτο[υ τ]οῦ καὶ ἐπερωτῶντος καὶ προσπορίζοντος

τῷ ἰδίῳ αὐτοῦ δεσπό]τῃ τῷ αὐτῷ πανευφήμῳ ἀνδρὶ τὴν ἀγωγὴν

καὶ ἐνοχὴν, Αὐ]ρήλιος Ἐ[π]ίμαχος υ[ἱ]ὸς Ἰωσήφ μητρὸς

c.5 ἀπὸ ἐποι]κίου [Παγγ]ουλεῖου κτήματος τῆς ὑμῶν

10 ὑπερφυείας τοῦ Ὀξυρ[υχ(ίτου)] νομοῦ, ἐν[α]πόγραφ[ο]ς γ[εωργό]ς,

χαίρειν. χ]ρεῖας κ[α]ὶ [νῦν] γεναμένη[ς] εἰς τὴν ὑπ’ [ἐμὲ

γεουχικ]ήν μη[χανήν] καλουμέ[νην - - - ἀντλοῦς]αν εἰς [
]..[]..[

1 φλα]ουῖων 2 ἰνΔ^ο 2, 5 abbreviation effected by pulling downwards and elongat-
 ing of χ of οξυρρυχ 8 υ[ῖ]ος 9 ὑμων 11 ὑπ

‘In the consulship of Flavii Orestes and Lampadius, *virī clarissimī*, Thoth 26, indiction 9, in Oxyrhynchus.

‘To Flavius Strategius, the all-renowned and most well-famed *ex consulibus*, *magister militum*, and *patricius*, *principalis* in the city of the Heracleopolites and in this splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, through Menas, *oiketes*, who also puts the formal question and provides for his own master, the same all-renowned man, the conduct of and responsibility for (the transaction), I, Aurelius Epimachus, son of Ioseph, mother . . . , from the hamlet of Pangleueiu, a holding of your excellence, of the Oxyrhynchite nome, a registered farmer, greeting.

‘Since now too a need has arisen in the estate irrigator under my charge called . . . which waters . . .’

1 On the consulship of Fl. Lampadius and Rufius Gennadius Probus Orestes, see *CLRE* 594–5, and *CSBE*² 205. Cf. 4785 1.

3ff. Φλαουῖω [Τρατηγίω κτλ. Strategius’ titulature here is identical with that in XXXVI 2779 2–3, which dates from later in 530, and apparently with 4783 3–5. See further 4785 3–4 n.

4 πατρικίω. Cf. above, introd. For other Egyptian *patricii*, see LXIX 4754 4–5 n.

πρωτεύοντι κτλ. For the term *πρωτεύων* (*principalis*), see A. Laniado, *Recherches sur les notables municipaux dans l’Empire protobyzantin* (2002) 201–11.

Papyri dating to the period 530–5 do not mention Strategius’ landholdings, but stress his function as *πρωτεύων* at Heracleopolis and Oxyrhynchus (4783 5–7, 4785 4–6, XXXVI 2779 3–4, XVI 1983 3–4); but contrast LXIII 4396 6–7 (542) γεουχο[ῦντι] καὶ ἐνταῦθα κτλ., which for some reason reverts to the older formula.

6 τ]οῦ καὶ ἐπερωτώντος. καὶ is absent from the formula in later years, though earlier it was an integral part of it; cf. LXIII 4390 4 (469), XVI 1984 4 (523), LXVII 4616 4 (525), XXXVI 2779 5, LXX 4784 6, 4785 6 (all three of 530). It reemerges in the later 4787 6 (564), 4788 6 (566), and I 134 11 (569). On the clause referring to the intermediary Menas, see LVIII 3935 7 n., LXVII 4616 4–6 n., 4 n.

7 τῷ ἰδίῳ αὐτοῦ δεσπότη. For the restored αὐτοῦ, essentially a stopgap to fill the space, see LXVII 4616 5 and n.

9 ἐποι]κίου [Παγγ]ουλεῖου. 2779 too attests an ἐναπόγραφος originating from the same settlement. (It may be worth noting that 2779 and 4784 were found in different excavation seasons, so that no archival relation may be established.) Interests of the Apion family in the area of Παγγουλεῖου are well attested in documents of the later sixth and seventh centuries; see Mazza, *L’archivio degli Apioni* 183. For this locality in general, see LXI 4132 9–10 n. with references; it used to belong to the Western toparchy, and later to the third *pagus*.

10 ἐν[απ]όγραφο]ς γεωργό]ς. See 4781 8 n.

12 ἀντλοῦς]αν εἰς [is on a small fragment that might also be placed in line 13.

N. GONIS

4785. RECEIPT FOR AN AXLE

54 I.B.25(B)/B(2)a

16.5 × 25 cm

19 October 530

A receipt for an axle issued to Aurelii Pamuthius and Menas, originating from a village 'administered' by Strategius II; neither is described as an *ἐναπόγραφος γεωργός*. Cf. LXX 4784 and XXXVI 2779, which are very close in date.

† ὑπατία Φλαουῖων [Ὀρέστου] καὶ Λ[αμπα]δίου τῶν λαμ[πρ]ροτάτων),
[Φαῶφ]ι κ̄β̄, ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) θ̄.

Φλαο[υ]ῖω Στρατηγίω τῷ ἐνδοξοτάτῳ καὶ ὑπερφυστάτῳ
στρατηλάτῃ εὐκλεεστάτῳ πατρικίῳ πρωτεύοντι

- 5 κατὰ τε τὴν Ἡρακλεοπολιτῶν καὶ κατὰ ταύτην τὴν
λαμπρὰν Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν πόλιν, διὰ Μηνᾶ οἰκέτου τοῦ καὶ
υπερωτοντος καὶ προσπορίζοντος τῷ ἰδίῳ δεσπότη
τῷ αὐτῷ πανευφήμῳ ἀνδρὶ τὴν ἀγωγὴν καὶ
ἐνοχὴν, Αὐρήλ(ι)οι Παμούθιος υἱὸς Σιττα μητρὸς Ἀρίας
10 καὶ Μηνᾶς υἱὸς Ἰσάκ μητρὸς Ταβης, ὀρμώμενοι ἀπὸ
κώμης Ταμπети τοῦ Ὀξυρυγχίτου νομοῦ, παγαρχουμένης
καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ὑμετέρας ὑπερφυσείας, χαίρειν. χρείας καὶ νῦν
γεναμένης εἰς τὴν ὑφ' ἡμᾶς γεουχικὴν μηχανὴν καλουμένην
Σιττα ἀντλοῦσαν εἰς ἄμπελον καὶ εἰς ἀροσίμην γῆν ἄξονος
15 ἐνός, ἀνελθόντες ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως ἠξιώσαμεν τὴν
ὑμῶν ὑπερφύειαν ὥστε κελεῦσαι τοῦτον ἡμῖν παρασχεθῆν(αι).
καὶ εὐθέως ἢ σὴ μεγαλοπρέπεια φροντίδα ποιουμένη τῆς
συστάσεως τῶν ἑαυτῆς πραγμάτων τὸν αὐτὸν ἄξονα
παρέσχετο ἡμῖν ἐκ τῶν ἐνεχθέντων νέων ἀπὸ τῆς
20 μεγα[λ]οπόλεως Ἀλεξανδρίας ἀντὶ τοῦ παλαιοθέντος,
ὄντινα καινὸν ἐπιτήδιον ἀντλητικὸν εὐάρεστον
ἐδεξάμεθα εἰς ἀν[απ]λήρωσιν πάν[τ]ων τῶν μηχανικῶν
ὀργάνων ἐν τῇ σήμε[ρον] ἡμ[έρα], ἥτις ἐστ[ίν] Φαῶφι δευ[τε]ρ[α] εἰκᾶς
τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἔτο[υ]ς ς ρος] τῆς παρ[ούσης]ς ἐνάτης [ἰ]νδ(ικτίωνος),
25 ὑδροπαροχείας [καρπῶν τῆς δεκάτης ἐπιμεμήσεως. καὶ πρὸς
ἀπόδειξιν τῆς ὑ[ποδοχῆς] ταύτην πεποιήμεθα τὴν χειρογραφ(ίαν),
ἥτις κυρία οὖσα ἀπ[λή] γραφεῖσα καὶ ἐπερωτηθέντες) ὠμολ(ογήσαμεν).†

(m. 2) Αὐρ(ήλιοι)

Πα[μ]ού[θ]ιος υἱὸς Σιττα καὶ Μηνᾶς υἱὸς Ἰσάκ οἱ προγε-
γραμμ(ένοι) [πεποιήμεθα ταύτην τὴν χειρογραφίαν

Back, downwards along the fibres:

30 † χειρογραφ(ία) Παμουθίου υἱοῦ Σιττα καὶ Μη[νᾶ] υἱοῦ [Ἰσακ ὑποδοχ(ῆς) ἄξιονος ἐνόσ

1 l. ὑπατεία	λαμ[π]ρ	2, 24 ἰνΔ	7 l. ἐπερωτῶντος	ἰδιω	8 l. ἀνδρί
9, 14, ?30 σιτ'τα	9, 10 υἱός	10 ἰσακ	11 παραρχουμένης: η corr. from οι		13 ὑφ
15 ἀνελθόντες: ε corr. from ο		16 ὕμων τουτον: second ο corr. from ω			παρασχεθηνς
19 νεων: ω corr. from ο	20 l. Ἀλεξανδρείας, παλαιωθέντος		21 l. ἐπιτήδειον		25 l.
ὑδροπαροχίας	29 -γραμμς	30 χειρογραφ υἱου (bis)			

'In the consulship of Flavii Orestes and Lampadius, *viri clarissimi*, Phaophi 22, indiction 9.

To Flavius Strategius, the most glorious and most extraordinary *magister militum*, the most well-famed *patricius, principalis* both in the city of the Heracleopolites and in this splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, through Menas, *oiketes*, who also puts the formal question and provides for his own master, the same all-renowned man, the conduct of and responsibility for (the transaction), we, Aurelii Pamuthius, son of Sitta(s), mother Aria, and Menas, son of Isac, mother Tabes, originating from the village of Tampeti of the Oxyrhynchite nome, administered also by your excellence, greeting.

'Since now too a need for one axle has arisen in the estate irrigator in our charge called "(Of?) Sitta", which waters vine-land and arable land, we went up to the city and asked your excellence to order this axle to be provided to us. And immediately your magnificence, showing regard for the state of your affairs, provided us the same axle from the new ones that were brought from the great city of Alexandria, in place of the old one; this (axle), being new, serviceable, suitable for irrigation, satisfactory, we received as completion of all the irrigation implements this very day, which is the twenty-second of Phaophi of the current year 207/176 of the present ninth indiction, for the irrigation of the crops of the tenth *epinemesis*. And as evidence for the receipt we have made this cheirograph, which is binding, written in a single copy, and in reply to the formal question we have given our consent. (2nd hand) We, Aurelii Pamuthius, son of Sitta(s), and Menas, son of Isac, the aforementioned, have made this cheirograph . . .'

Back: 'Cheirograph of Pamuthius, son of Sitta(s), and Menas, son of Isac, for the receipt of one axle.'

1 For the consulship, see **4784** 1 n.

3-4 Φλαο[υ]ῖω Στρατηγίω τῷ ἐνδοξοτάτῳ καὶ ὑπερφυστάτῳ στρατηλάτῃ εὐκλεεστάτῳ πατρικίω. The first part of Strategius' titulature parallels the earlier XVI **1984** 2-3 (523) and LXVII **4616** 2-3 (525), τῷ ἐνδοξοτάτῳ καὶ ὑπερφυστάτῳ στρατηλάτῃ καὶ ἀπὸ ὑπάτων. His titulature in XXXVI **2779** 2-3 and LXX **4784** 3-4, which also date from 530, is slightly different: τῷ πανευφήμῳ καὶ εὐκλεεστάτῳ ἀπὸ ὑπάτων στρατηλάτῃ καὶ πατρικίω: the scribes separated the epithets from the titles; cf. also **4783** 3-5 (largely restored). (The omission of the element ἀπὸ ὑπάτων from **4785** is probably inadvertent.) Cf. also XVI **1983** 2-3 (535) τῷ πανευφήμῳ ἀπὸ ὑπάτων στρατηλάτῃ | εὐκλεεστάτῳ πατρικίω, and LXIII **4396** 4-5 (542) τῷ πανευφήμῳ καὶ ὑπερφυστάτῳ | ἀπὸ ὑπάτων καὶ εὐκλεεστάτῳ στρατηλάτῃ, πατρικίω. Clearly, scribes were aware that certain epithets were indicative of certain titles.

υπερωτοντος, l. *ἐπερωτῶντος*. Even though the interchange $\epsilon > \upsilon$ is not uncommon (see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 274), the form here may stem from a belief that the verb was a compound of *ὑπό*; cf. P. Sakaon 49.18 (314), SB XVI 12484.15 (362), T. Varie 2.8 and 10.8 (VII), which attest forms of **ὑπερωτᾶν*.

9 *Ἀυρήλ(ι)οι*. See Gignac, *Grammar* i 304.

Σιττα. Cf. 14, 30. On this name of unknown origin, also spelled (T)ζιττα(c), see B. Palme, *Chiron* 27 (1997) 110 with n. 33.

11 Ταμπετι. On this village, which once belonged to the Middle toparchy, and in the fourth century came under the seventh *pagus*, identifiable with modern Tambidi, see Pruneti, *I centri abitati dell'Ossirinchi* 195–6; Calderini–Daris, *Dizionario* iv 335, Suppl. II 201. The interests of the Apion family in the area of Tampeti are well attested; see Mazza, *L'archivio degli Apioni* 186. For this village as a viticultural site (here cf. 14, ἄμπελον) see T. M. Hickey, *A Public 'House' but Closed: Fiscal 'Participation' and Economic Decision Making on the Oxyrhynchite Estate of the Flavii Apiones* (Diss. Chicago 2001) 279–80.

11–12 παραρχουμένης καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ὑμετέρας ὑπερφυείας. On this collocation, see **4787** 9–10 n.

13–14 μηχανὴν καλουμένην *Κιττα*. Such μηχαναί were probably *saqiyas* (rather than *shadufs*), water-lifting devices consisting of a pair of cog-wheels at right angles, driven by one or two animals, usually oxen; see L. Ménassa, P. Laferrière, *La Saqia* (1974), and, more concisely, D. Bonneau, *Le Régime administratif de l'eau du Nil dans l'Égypte grecque, romaine et byzantine* (1993) 107–15, 226–30. The term μηχανή was also used synecdochically for the plot irrigated by the *saqiya*; see most recently Hickey, *A Public 'House' but Closed* 44 ≈ *CE* 74 (2004) 242 n. 8.

A μηχανή named *Κιττα* is not known from elsewhere. It is interesting that it has the same name as Pamuthius' father, which is not very common: could it be that it was also due to him? If so, we gain an insight into how these machines came to have their names.

14 ἄξονος. Assuming that our μηχανή was a *saqiya*, the axle would have been the vertical beam on which the horizontal cog-wheel was fixed, or the horizontal beam which connected axially the vertical cog-wheel to the wheel with the clay pots fastened onto it; see J. P. Oleson, *Greek and Roman Mechanical Water-Lifting Devices: The History of a Technology* (1984) 158, 170.

17 ἡ σὴ μεγαλοπρέπεια. This abstract is normally used for senators of lower grade than that of a *patricius*, but here it is probably a remnant of an older use, going back to a time when Strategius had not risen to the highest senatorial dignity; cf. **XVI 1982** 10, 12 (497).

φροντίδα ποιουμένη. See **4781** 13 n.

19–20 ἐκ τῶν ἐνεχθέντων νέων ἀπὸ . . . Ἀλεξανδρίας. See **4781** 15–16 n.

20 ἀντὶ τοῦ παλαιοθέντος (l. παλαιω-). **2779** 21–2 too refers to an old axle replaced by a new: τοῦ δὲ παλαιοῦ ἄξονος [κ]ατενεχθέντος καὶ | δοθέντος εἰς τὴν μεγάλην γεουχικὴν οἰκίαν. On 'old axles', see **LXVII 4623** 2 n. Cf. also **4788** 19–21 and n.

21 ὄντινα. See **4781** 16 n.

24 Year 207/176 of the era of Oxyrhynchus and indiction 9 correspond to 530/1; see *CSBE*² 149.

25 ὑδροπαροχείας [καρπῶν τῆς δεκάτης ἐπινεμήσεως. We have restored the most common formula. **2779** 20–1 has ὑδροπαροχίας δὲ δεκάτης | ἐπινεμήσεως, which seems rather short for the space.

A. SYRKOU

4786. CONTRACT

97/138(a)

13 × 27.9 cm

27 July 551
Plate XII

Only the top and line-ends of the document have survived. The text is addressed to Fl. Apion, *στρατηλάτης*, by two persons. The lost parts are not easy to restore, while the grammar and spelling are very erratic. A financial transaction is involved, and mention is made of (?a payment for) *συνήθεια*; is this a work contract?

A στρατηλάτης called Apion is known from two Arsinoite documents: BGU I 305.3–5 (556), Φλ(αουίω) Ἀπίωνι τῷ ἐνδοξοτάτῳ στρατηλάτῃ | [π]αγάρχῳ τῆς Ἀρσινοϊτῶν καὶ Θεοδοσιουπολιτῶν, and CPR XIV 10.1–3 (no date), Φλ(αουίω) Ἀ[πί]ωνι τῷ πανευφήμῳ | ἀπὸ ὑπ[ά]των, παγάρχῳ τῆς τε | Ἀρσινοειτῶν καὶ Θεοδοσιουπολιτῶ(ν). He was long thought to be the same as Fl. Apion II, but doubts concerning this identification have been expressed on more than one occasion; see K. A. Worp, CPR X p. 155, J. Banaji, *Agrarian Change in Late Antiquity* (2001) 143 with n. 59, and R. Mazza, *L'archivio degli Apioni* (2001) 64. Apion II was the consul of 539, and in Oxyrhynchite documents predating his patriciate he is invariably styled ὑπάτος ὀρδινάριος or ἀπὸ ὑπάτων ὀρδινάριων (see e.g. **4787** 5); but ἀπὸ ὑπάτων without further qualification refers to honorary consuls. Besides, even if we were to assume that ὀρδινάριων was inadvertently omitted from CPR XIV 10, it is hard to see why BGU I 305 makes no reference to Apion's consulship but only calls him στρατηλάτης, probably an honorary *magister militum*, and uses the epithet ἐνδοξότατος, indicative of a lower rank than that held by Apion II at that time (in his earliest occurrence in a papyrus, XVI **1985** 3 of 543, Apion is styled τῷ ὑπερφουεστάτῳ ὑπάτῳ ὀρδινάριῳ). Local notarial predilections can hardly have been at work. It will be reasonable to assume that the two Arsinoite documents refer to a different Apion from the consul of 539, one who advanced from the dignity of *magister militum* to that of *ex consulibus*, and from the rank epithet ἐνδοξότατος to πανεύφημος (CPR XIV 10 should postdate BGU I 305).

This may receive support from **4786**, which attests Fl. Apion, στρατηλάτης, at Oxyrhynchus in 551. It is significant that the text does not contain the Menas-formula, attested in all Oxyrhynchite documents addressed to members of (the main branch of) the Apion family from 523 onwards. Apion's titulature recalls BGU I 305, which dates from only five years later than **4786**.

It is tempting to identify Apion the στρατηλάτης in **4786** with the Arsinoite στρατηλάτης of this name, though there can be no certainty. Whatever the case, the possible connections of the 'Apions' of Oxyrhynchus with the Fayum should be reconsidered. There is no firm evidence that links them with landholdings in that area. In the 530s, Strategius II is described as πρωτεύων in Heracleopolis and Oxyrhynchus (see **4784** 4 n.), but there is no reference to Arsinoe (BGU III 836 = W. Chr. 471 need not necessarily be taken as evidence to the contrary). However, it is remarkable that an Arsinoite magnate named Strategius (S. 'Paneuphemos'), and possibly another called Apion, had interests also in the area of Oxyrhynchus. A hypothesis that the 'Apions' of the Fayum were a branch of the same family as those of Oxyrhynchus, and perhaps drew their ancestry from them, would have its attractions.

The back is blank so far as it is preserved. A sheet-join runs 3.3 cm from the right-hand edge.

χμγ

† βα]σιλίας τοῦ θιωτάτω καὶ εὐσεβεστάτω ἡμῶν
 δεσπ]ότου Φλαουῖου Ἰουστινιανοῦ τοῦ ἐωνίου
 Αὐγο]ύστου καὶ Αὐτωγράφωρος ἔτους κε, τοῖς τὸ θ̄'
 5 μετὰ] τὴν ὑπατείαν Φλ(αουῖου) Βασιλίας τοῦ λαμπρ(οτάτου), Μεσορῆ γ̄,
] ἰνδικ(τίωνος) ιδ.
 Φλ]αουῖω Ἀπίονι τοῦ ἐντοξοτάτου στρατηλάτῃ
 c.20] . c Κληστωφορίω
 c.17 λαμ]π[ρ]ᾶν Ὁξυρυγχ(ιτών)
 10 c.25] . Αὐρήλιοι
 c.20 καὶ] Β[ί]κτωρ υἱὸς
 c.25] ὀρμώμε-
 νοι c.22] . ου . ες
 c.19 ὀμολογοῦμεν] ἐξ ἀλληλεγ-
 15 γύης c.13 ἔγγρ]αφον ἀσφάλειαν
 c.25] . ὑπὲρ
 c.17] . θαρίου ἐν ἐποικείου
 c.8 χρυσοῦ ν]ομιματίου ἕνα ἰδ(ιωτικῶ) ζυγ(ῶ) ζυγ(ῶ)
 c.20] ἰνδικ(τίωνος) γί(νεται) (ὑπὲρ) κυνηθ(είας)
 20 c.25] πεντεκαδεκά-
 της c.20] . . πρὸς σὺν ἀσ-
 φάλειαν c.17 ὑ]πὲρ κυνηθείας
 c.25] . c τῆς πεν-
 τεκαδεκάτης c.13] πλήρης
 25 c.35] . ε

2 l. βασιλείας, θειοτάτου (θῖωτατω παρ.), εὐσεβεστάτου 3 l. αἰωνίου 4 l. Αὐτο-
 κράτορος 5 φλς λαμπρ 1. Βασιλείου 6 ἰνδικ 7 l. Ἀπίωνι, τῶ ἐνδοξοτάτω
 8 l. Χριστοφορ- 9 οξυρυγχς 11 υἱός 14 l. ἀλληλεγ- 17 l. ἐποικίω
 18 l. νομιματίον ἐν οἱ νομιματίου ἐνός 12 ζυγς 19 ἰνδικεγεκυνηθς 21 l. σὴν

‘643. In the reign of our most godly and most pious master, Flavius Iustinianus, the eternal Augustus and Emperor, year 25, the 9th time under the consuls after the consulship of Flavius Basilius, *vir clarissimus*, Mesore 3, indiction 14.

‘To Flavius Apion, the most glorious *magister militum* . . . Christophor(i)us . . . splendid (city) of the Oxyrhynchites . . . we, Aurelii . . . and Victor son of . . . originating from . . . We acknowledge by mutual security . . . written bond . . . in the hamlet . . . one solidus of gold by private standard . . . indiction, total for *synetheia* . . . fifteenth (indiction) . . . for your security . . . for *synetheia* . . . of the fifteenth (indiction) . . . in full . . .’

1 χμγ. See LXVIII **4688** I n.

2–6 The consular count does not at first sight agree with the regnal and the indiction years, but this is something well attested: the reckoning is of the ‘-1’ variety, which takes 543 (instead of 542) as the first postconsular year of Fl. Basilius; see F. Reiter, *ZPE* 145 (2003) 231–45, esp. 232–5, 239. This is the case with XIX **2238** too, which dates from 7.viii.551. (In view of **2238** and **4786**, the iteration figure of Basilius’ postconsulate in the Oxyrhynchite PSI I 77.1 (31.vii.551), restored as [ι] (BL VII 232), may also be restored as [θ].)

5 ὑπατεῖαν. The word is usually written in itacistic spelling, so that it is somewhat surprising to find it written so here, amidst all these wild spellings.

7 Φ]λαουῖω Ἀπίωνι (l. -ωνι) τοῦ ἐντοξοτάτου (l. τῷ ἐνδοξοτάτῳ) στρατηλάτῃ. On this Apion, see above, introd. Whether he was related to any of the high-ranking persons named Strategius who are attested in the Fayum in the sixth century, is unknown.

Apart from the texts mentioned in the introduction, Apion the *stratelates* may have occurred in one or two other passages. The first is P. Erl. 120.7–8, τοὺς ἐνδοξ[οτά]τους προστάτας | Μηνᾶν καὶ Ἀπίωνα; this text refers to a fiscal exercise in the Arsinoite district, and probably dates from 546/7 (I discuss this point in *APF* 51/1 (2005) 93–4). The other text is BGU II 364 = M. Chr. 279 of 553, an Arsinoite lease addressed to

..... στρατ]ηλάτῃ καὶ Στρατηγίῳ [ι]λουστρίῳ τοῖς ἐνδοξοτάτοις υἱοῖς τοῦ
5 τῆς μακαρίας ? μνήμ]ης Θεοδώρου γεουχ[οῦ]σιν ἐπὶ [τ]ῆς Ἀρσινοειτῶν πόλεως

More than a century after the publication of this papyrus, the identity of the στρατηλάτῃς remains elusive. ‘Identisch mit Fl. Apion aus BGU I 305 (556 n. Chr.)?’, asked K. A. Worp, CPR X p. 155 n. 1. Mazza, *L’archivio degli Apioni* 64 n. 74 (cf. also 68 with n. 84) compared this text with CPR XIV 11.5–7 (578), Φλ(αουῖοις) Χριστοφόρῳ καὶ Στρατηγίῳ | τοῖς ἐνδοξ(οτ)άτοις στρατηλάταις, παγάρχοις | τῆς Ἀρσινοϊτῶν καὶ Θεοδοσιουπολιτῶν. We have at least two possible restorations: (i) [Φλ(αουῖοις) Ἀπίωνι στρατ]ηλάτῃ; (ii) [Φλ(αουῖοις) Χριστοφόρῳ στρατ]ηλάτῃ. If the break in line 4 took 15 letters away, (i) is rather short, but would be long if the *gentilicium* was written out in full, while (ii) would be too long. However, the restorations in lines 1–3 suggest that the length of the lacuna is slightly bigger, about 18 letters. With Φλ(αουῖοις) abbreviated, there would be just enough space for Χριστοφόρῳ; but if the scribe wrote Φλαουῖοις in full, Ἀπίωνι may also be considered.

One further note to BGU II 364 may be appended here. It is hardly likely that the two *viri gloriosissimi* were the sons of a man without senatorial credentials, as the tentative μακαρίας μνήμης (l. 5) implies; μακαρίας is also short for the space. [τῆς περιβλέπτου μνήμ]ης would have the right length; and we know of one Theodorus of this rank who was active in Arsinoe at an earlier time, viz. the *spectabilis comes* in CPR X 119.6–7 of 491.

στρατηλάτῃ. The title of *magister militum* was honorary; see LXVII **4616** 2–3 n. for references. Apion is the second earliest στρατηλάτῃς to be attested in the papyri, after Fl. Strategius II, which suggests that he was of high rank at provincial level. The title becomes fairly common from the later sixth century onwards.

8 Κληστωφορίῳ, l. Χριστοφορίῳ or Χριστοφόρῳ. The last letter has the shape of a rectangular U. It could be interpreted as omega or, less likely, upsilon, though it is unlike the forms of these letters elsewhere in the text. If it is omega, it is probably to be understood as a genitive in phonetic spelling; a dative is more difficult with] . c that precedes it.

If we have a genitive, e.g. υἱῷ τοῦ τῆς ἐνδόξου μνήμ]ης would fill the break comfortably. There is no way of telling whether Christophor(i)us is related to Christophorus in CPR XIV 11.5 of 578 (cited above). I should exclude that this person was an intermediary;] . c before the name does not encourage such a thought, though in a text where misspellings are rife nothing can strictly be ruled out, and we should expect a reference to an intermediary to follow after the mention of Oxyrhynchus.

9 λαμ]π[ρ]ᾶν Ὁξυρρυγχ(ιτών). At this point one expects a reference to landownership in the area of Oxyrhynchus, i.e., γεουχοῦντι (καὶ) ἐνταῦθα τῇ λαμπρᾷ Ὁξυρρυγχ(ιτών) πόλει, but this is apparently not what we have, unless the accusative is a mistake for a dative. [πρωτεύοντι κατὰ τὴν λαμ]π[ρ]ᾶν would suit the space and traces, but this expression is only found in the titulature of Strategius II; cf. e.g. **4785** 4–6. A further problem is what was taken away by the break in the next line (but [καὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἀραιοῖτων πόλιν] would have about the right length).

15 ἔγγρ]αφον ἀσφάλειαν. [κατὰ τήνδε τὴν ἔγγρ]αφον ἀσφάλειαν would have the right length, but the phrase has not occurred in any Oxyrhynchite document.

17] . θαρίου. Perhaps μι]εθαρίου, in which case this would be a reference to a (payment of) salary.

19 (ὑπέρ) συνηθ(είας). Cf. 22 ὑ]πέρ συνηθείας, and possibly 16–17 ὑπέρ | [. συνήθειαι were perquisites paid to a landowner, usually in kind; see K. A. Worp, P. Thomas pp. 51–68. Money payments for συνήθειαι (gratuities) are usually found with officials. In this text it seems that Apion, who was certainly a landlord, had paid one solidus on account of συνήθεια to the two persons who made the agreement with him (cf. 21–2 with n.). I am not aware of anything comparable. The sequence of clauses from this point onwards is also unparallelled. All this may be due to the fact that the document was drafted by a non-professional.

20 At the beginning of the line, there may have stood γί(νεται) χρ(υσοῦ) νο(μισμάτιον) αἰδ(ιωτικῶ) ζυγ(ῶ).

21–2 πρὸς σὺν (l. σὴν) ἀσφάλειαν. σὺν for σὴν is an odd mistake, even in a text with this amount of error. One would also expect to find a *pluralis maiestatis*, i.e. ὑμετέραν, as e.g. in I **144** = M. Chr. 343.17 (580) or XVI **2009** 4 (VII). But I do not see any other viable articulation. If this is correct, the clause indicates that there has been a money payment, acknowledged by the party who received it. But before πρὸς, κ]αί cannot be read.

25 This line may have started, καὶ ἐπερωτηθέντες ὡμολογήσαμεν.

N. GONIS

4787. DEED OF SURETY

56 IB.25/62(a)

13.5 × 16.5 cm

12 March 564

The upper part of a deed of surety for an ἐναπόγραφος γεωργός in the estate of Apion II, made by a village headman. The document belongs to a well attested type (ἐγγύαι εἰς παράστασιν); for the latest update, see B. Palme, *Symposion* 1999 (2003) 531 n. 1; add LXVIII **4688**, **4703**, LXIX **4756–4758**, and LXX **4787**, **4790–4791**, **4794**, **4802**.

The text offers a *terminus post quem* for Apion's elevation to the dignity of *patri-cius*; see above, General Introduction to **4780–4802**.

† βασιλείας τοῦ θει]οτάτου καὶ εὐσεβ(εστάτου) ἡμῶν δεσπότη Φλ(αουῖου)

Ἰουστινιανοῦ τοῦ

αἰωνίου Αὐγουστοῦ] καὶ Αὐτοκράτορος ἔτους λξ̄, τοῖς τὸ κγ̄ μετὰ τὴν

ὑπατ(ε)ίαν Φλαουῖου Β]ασιλείου τοῦ λαμπρ(οτάτου), Φαμενώθ ις, ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ιβ.

Φλαουῖω Ἀπίω]νι τῶ πανευφήμῳ καὶ ὑπερφυεστάτῳ

5 ἀπὸ ὑπάτων ὀρδινα]ρίων γεουχοῦντι καὶ ἐνταῦθα τῇ λαμπρᾷ

Ὁξυρυγχ(ιτών) πόλει, διὰ] Μηνᾶ οἰκέτου τοῦ καὶ ἐπερωτῶντος καὶ
 προςπορ]ίζοντος τῷ ἰδ[ί]ω δεσπότη τῷ αὐτῷ πανευφήμῳ
 ἀνδρὶ τήν] ἀγωγὴν κ[αὶ] ἐνοχὴν, Αὐρήλιος Φιλόξενος μείζων
 υἱὸς 15]ος μητρὸς Τεκραμπε ἀπὸ κώμ(ης) Πανευει παραρχουμ(ένης)
 10 παρὰ τῆς ὑμ]ετέρα(ς) ὑπερφυείας τοῦ Ὁξυρυγχ(ίτου) νομοῦ, χαίρειν.
 ὁμολογῶ ἐκο]υσία γνώμη ἐπομνύμενος Θεὸν τὸν παντοκράτορα
 καὶ τὴν εὐ]σέβειαν καὶ νίκην τῆς καλλινίκου τύχης
 ἐγγυᾶσθαι] καὶ ἀναδέχεσθαι παρὰ τῇ ὑμετέρα ὑπερφυεία
 Αὐρήλιον] Γεώργιον υἱὸν Ἀπολλῶτος ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης,
 15 ἐναπόγραφον αὐτ]ῆ[ς γεωρ]γόν, ὥστε αὐτὸν ἀδιαλείπτως παραμεῖναι
 καὶ διάγειν ἐν τῇ αὐτ]ῆ κ[ώμῃ καὶ μ]ηδ[αμῶς αὐτὸν ἀπολ]ε[ιμπᾶνεσθαι

Back, downwards, along the fibres:

traces

Γεώργι[ον

1 ευσεβ]ς	φλ]ς	3 l. Βασιλείου	λαμπρ]ς	ἰνδ' /	4 ὑπερφυεστατω	7 ἰδ[ί]ω
9 κωμ]ς	παραρχουμ]ς	10 ὑπερφυειας	οξυρυγχ]ς	13 ὑμετεραῦπερφυεια	14 υἱον	
16 l. ἀπολιμπᾶνεσθαι						

‘In the reign of our most godly and most pious master, Flavius Iustinianus, the eternal Augustus and Imperator, year 37, the 23rd time under the consuls after the consulship of Flavius Basilius, *vir clarissimus*, Phamenoth 16, indiction 12.

‘To Flavius Apion, the all-renowned and most extraordinary former *consul ordinarius*, landowner here also in the splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, through Menas, *oiketes*, who also puts the formal question and supplies for his own master, the same all-renowned man, the conduct of and responsibility for (the transaction), I, Aurelius Philoxenus, headman, son of . . . , mother Tecrampe, from the village of Paneuei, administered by your excellence, of the Oxyrhynchite nome, greeting.

‘I acknowledge by willing resolve, swearing by God the almighty and the piety and victory of the victorious genius, that I give surety and pledge to your excellence for Aurelius Georgius son of Apollos, from the same village, a registered farmer of yours, on condition that he shall remain continuously and abide in the same village and he shall by no means leave (this village) . . .’

Back: ‘. . . Georgius . . .’

1–3 All elements of the dating clause agree: Justinian’s 37th year ran from 1 April 563 to 30 March 564, Basilius’ 23rd postconsular year was 564, and indiction 12 = 563/4; see *CSBE*² 151.

2–3 On the consular formulas of Fl. Basilius, see F. Reiter, *ZPE* 145 (2003) 231–45, esp. 232–5, 243. The consular count here of is of the ‘ο’ variety, which takes 542 as Basilius’ first postconsular year. Contrast **4786**.

4 Φλαουῖω Ἀπίωνι κτλ. The restoration would seem short for the break, but the initial Φ may have been enlarged. On this person, commonly called Apion II, see most recently Mazza, *L’archivio degli Apioni* 60–4; J. Beaucamp, *REByz* 59 (2001) 165–78. See also **4788–4792**.

5 ἀπὸ ὑπάτων ὀρδινα]ρίων. For the significance of the absence of the title *πατρίκιος*, see above, General Introd., pp. 78–9.

A problematic text is P. Princ. II 96, a schedule of salaries (*βρέουιον ὀψωνίων*) for a 15th indiction. At some later stage, the papyrus was reused for a writing exercise, and someone penned *Φλαουῖω Ἀπίωνι τῷ πανευφήμῳ καὶ ὑπερφυεστ(άτῳ) ἀπὸ ὑπάτων ὀρδυναρ(ίων)*. The titlature indicates that Apion was not a *patricius*, so that the 15th indiction mentioned in the text would correspond to 551/2; see Mazza, *L'archivio degli Apioni* 62 n. 68. One (or more) of the persons attested in P. Princ. 96 may recur in XXVII **2480**, originally assigned to 566, but which is more likely to date from 581; see Hickey, *A Public 'House' but Closed* 129–30. But even if P. Princ. 96 dated from 566 (Hickey, 130 n. 214, suggests that the schedule will have been drawn up at the start of the indiction, i.e., some time in May or June—this will have been the fiscal indiction, not the chronological), it need not be used as evidence for the date of the bestowal of the patriciate on Apion; writing exercises sometimes reproduce formulas long obsolete.

8 *μείζων*. This was certainly a village headman; so far as I can see, in no other text of this period has this term a different meaning. It is *μειζότερος* that is polysemantic (see LVI **3871** 3 n.; CPR XXIV 25.7 n.); there is a reference to a *μειζότερος κώμης Πανευει* in XVI **2018** 1.

9 *Τεκραμπε*. The name in this spelling seems peculiar to the area of Oxyrhynchus, while texts from Hermopolis, Antinoopolis, and Aphrodito give *Τεκρομπία* (or *ΤΕΚΡΟΜΠΕ*)—dialectal variations at work: see W. E. Crum, *Coptic Dictionary* 828b–829a (s.v. *βροομπε*). See further P. Col. X 290.3 n.

Πανευει. For this village see P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati* 135. It is always styled a *κώμη*; it does not occur in **2025** 19 *ἐποικ(ίου) Παρευ(ί)*, where a photograph allows reading the name of the hamlet as *Παλιευ()*, perhaps *Παλιεύ(τος)* (cf. *Παλιεύτι*, a personal name, in P. Oslo III 134.5), which is a new locality. Connections of Paneuei with the Apion estate may be inferred from XVI **1908** 16, and possibly **2018** 1 ff.

9–10 *παγαρχουμένης* [*παρὰ τῆς ὑμ]ετέρας ὑπερφυείας*. This or similar expressions also occur in **4785** 11–12 (530), I **133** 8 (550), **197** = P. Lond. III (pp. 278–9) 776.6–7 (552), XLIV **3204** 12 (588), I **139** 15–16, XVI **1981** 16–17, LXVI **4536** 16–17 (all three of 612), XXIV **2420** 12–13 (614; see BL X 148), LXX **4802** 3 (early VII). It is found exclusively in documents addressed to great landowners, generally members of the Apion family (the exception is **3204**, connected with Fl. Anastasia). Oxyrhynchite villages are mentioned in all texts but P. Lond. 776, which refers to a Cynopolite village, but in the Apions' sphere of control. The expression appears in all documents addressed to Apions in which a contracting party or a person under surety originate from a *κώμη*. The only exception is LVIII **3959** 10–11 of 620, in which Seryphis is not designated as *παγαρχομένη* by the 'glorious house', whereas it is described as such in XXIV **2420** 12–13; this may well be due to the fact that **3959** dates from the time of the Persian occupation, after the death of Apion III.

The clause is always found with *κῶμαι*; with *ἐποίκια* the terms used are *κτήματος τῆς* or *διαφέροντος τῆ* + abstract. The *ἐποίκια* had no juridical status of their own, and their taxes were paid through the landowners who 'owned' them (already in the fourth century: see XLVI **3307**). The *κῶμαι* were normally under the control of the pagarch, but it appears that their fiscal administration could be exercised by great landowners, whose authority was similar to that of a pagarch; 'c'était en raison des responsabilités personnelles du *geouchos* ou, au contraire, en conséquence de quelque *munus patrimonii*' (Gascou, *T&MBz* 9 (1985) 67 n. 378; this marks a departure from an earlier view, voiced in *CE* 47 (1972) 252–3 n. 4). A different though expressly tentative interpretation has been put forward by I. F. Fikhman, *Pap. Congr. XV* (1977) 193–4: the use of the phrase served to stress 'la dépendance du village par rapport au grand propriétaire foncier dont le pouvoir était interprété comme pouvoir public, représenté dans le nome par le pagarque'. See also R. Mazza, *Aegyptus* 75 (1995) 195–6.

4785 has *παγαρχουμένης καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ὑμετέρας ὑπερφυείας*: Strategius I was not the only person with fiscal jurisdiction over the village. Compare LXIII **4398** 15–16 (553), where an *ἐποίκιον* is described as *κτήματος κ[α]ὶ τῆς ὑμῶν | παιδεύεως*, which implies that more than one landowner had

interests, and the fiscal responsibility connected with them, in that settlement. PSI VIII 954.26 (VI), τρίτον μέρος) ἐποικ(ίου) Χρυσοχ[ό]ου, may also be relevant; see Hickey, *A Public 'House' but Closed* 52 n. 108.

10 παρά is restored instead of ὑπό on the grounds of space. ὑπό occurs in the three earlier instances of the formula.

11 ἐκο]υρία γνώμη is usually followed by καὶ ἀθαιρέτω προαιρέσει in most Oxyrhynchite deeds of surety. καὶ ἀθαιρέτω προαιρέσει is also absent from P. Wash. Univ. I 25.9 (530), I 135 = W. Chr. 384.10 (579), and PSI I 52.11 (VII). The omission might be an influence from Arsinoite notarial practices.

11–12 Θεὸν τὸν παντοκράτορα [καὶ τὴν εὐ]κέβειαν καὶ νίκην τῆς καλλινίκου τύχης. The same oath formula occurs in SB XVIII 13949.7–8 (541) (*CSBE*² 284, formula XXIX); cf. also XIX 2238 8–9 (551), which does not have καὶ νίκην.

13 ἐγγυᾶσθαι] καὶ ἀναδέχεσθαι παρὰ τῇ ὑμετέρα ὑπερφυεῖα. On this clause and its constructions see J. Partsch, *Griechisches Bürgschaftsrecht* (1909) 94, 100–4; P. Turner 54.2–3 n. (This and related issues are further discussed by B. Palme in his forthcoming *Form und Funktion der byzantinischen Gestellungsbürgschaften*, which he kindly showed me in advance of publication.) My translation is modelled on Grenfell and Hunt's version for I 135 11–12.

14–15 ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης, [ἐναπόγραφον αὐτ]ῆ[ς γεωρ]γόν. For other ἐναπόγραφοι said to originate from κῶμαι, see LXIX 4757 1 n. This is the first Apion text to attest something of the kind.

15 ὥστε. One expects ἐφ' ᾧ, which is present in most texts of this type, though cf. 4794 13.

N. GONIS

4788. RECEIPT FOR AN AXLE

54 IB.25(B)/C(7)a+(2)d+(5)b

18.5 × 31 cm

15 October 566

A receipt for an axle needed to replace an old one in an irrigating machine in the estate of Fl. Apion II, issued to an ἐναπόγραφος γεωργός. Although this is a very common type of document, the sequence of clauses in the narrative part of the text finds no parallel elsewhere.

This is the earliest firmly dated document to attest Apion's rise to the patriciate; see above, General Introd., pp. 78–9.

Apion II, the eponymous consul of 539, was among the highest aristocrats in Constantinople. However, he was not the most senior ranking senator in Egypt before his elevation to the patriciate, the highest dignity available to senators. Athanasius, a great landowner and *dux* of the Thebaid in the 560s, was a *patricius* in 563 (XVI 1920 1; for the dating, see BL X 145), while in 553 the *patricia* Fl. Gabrielia, apparently the wife of a *patricius*, held municipal offices in Oxyrhynchus (XXXVI 2780). It may be significant that we have no evidence that Apion II ever held a post in the administration of the Empire. (To judge from the titulature, I 130, a petition addressed to Apion, *patricius* and *dux* of the Thebaid, is not likely to refer to Apion II and date to 548–50. This Apion may have been Apion III; see J. Gasco, *T&MByz* 9 (1985) 66 n. 370, and B. Palme, *ZRG* 115 (1998) 294 n. 14.)

† βασιλείας καὶ ὑπατίας τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ εὐσεβ(εστάτου) ἡμῶν
 δεσπότη Φλαουῖου Ἰουστινίου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου καὶ Αὐτοκρ(άτορος)
 ἔτους α̅, Φαῶφι ιη, ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ιε, ἐν Ὁξυρύχ(ων) πόλ(ει).
 Φλαουῖω Ἀπίωνι τῷ παν[ε]υφήμῳ καὶ ὑπερφνεστάτῳ ἀπὸ ὑπάτω[ν
 5 ὀρδιναρίων καὶ πατρ[ικί]ω, γεουχοῦντι καὶ ἐνταῦθα τῇ λαμπρ[ᾷ
 Ὁξυρυγχιτῶν πόλει, [δ]ιὰ Μηναὶ οἰκέτου τοῦ καὶ ἐπερωτῶν[τος καὶ
 προσπορίζοντος τῷ ἰ[δί]ω] δεσπότη τῷ αὐτῷ π[α]νευφήμ[ω ἀνδρὶ
 τὴν ἀγωγὴν καὶ ἐ[νοχ]ήν, Αὐρήλιος Απαωρ [υ]ἰὸς Ἀ[πο]λῶτ[ος μητρὸς
 . . .]μης ὀρμώμενος ἀπὸ ἐποικίου Νική[του τοῦ Ὁξυρυχ(ίτου)
 10 νομ]ο[ῦ] διαφέροντος τῇ ὑμῶν ὑπερφυείᾳ, ἐνα[πό]γραφος αὐτῆς
 γεω[ργ]ός, χαίρειν. χρεῖ[α]ς καὶ νῦν γεναμέν[ης εἰς τὴν ὑπ' ἐμὲ γε-
 ουχι]κὴν μηχ[α]νὴν κ[αλ]ομένην Ἀγροῖ[κι]κοῖς ἀντλοῦσαν
 εἰς ἄμπελον καὶ ἐ[ί]ς ἀρ[οσί]μην γῆν ἄξονος [ένός, ἀνελθὼν
 ἐπ]ὶ τῆς πόλεως ἡξίως[α] τῆν ὑμῶν ὑπερ[φύ]ειαν ὥστε κελεῦσαι
 15 μ[οι τ]οῦτον παρασχ[εθ]ῆναι· [καὶ] ἐ[ὕ]θέως ἡ ὑμῶν ὑπερφύεια
 πρ[όνοι]αν ποιουμένη [τ]ῆ[ς] ζυστ[ά]σεως τῶν ἑαυτῆς πραγμάτων
 τὸν [α]ὐτ[ό]ν ἄξονα ἀγορασθέντα πα[ρ] ἐμοῦ ἐν ἀγροῖς καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ
 τούτου τιμὴν λογισθεῖσάν μοι ὑπ[έρ] c.20
 πεντεκαιδεκάτης ἰνδικ(τίωνος), τὸν δὲ [ἄ]ξονα ἐξυπηρετο]ύμ[ε]νο
 20 τοῖς ποτισμοῖς ἐπὶ ἑπταε[τ]ῆ χρόνον, τοῦ δὲ παλαιοῦ] ἄξονος δοθέντος
 παρ' ἐμοῦ τῷ θυρουρῷ [. . .][. . .]. . .[. . .].[. . .].[. . .] κα[ι] [ν]ο[ῦ] ἐπιτήδιον
 ἀντλητικὸν εὐάρεστον ἐδεξάμην[ν] εἰς ἀναπλήρωσιν πάντων
 τῶν μηχανικῶν ὀργ[άν]ων ἐν τ[ῆ]ς ἡμέρον ἡμέρα ἡτις ἐστὶν
 Φαῶφι ὀκτωκαιδεκάτη τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους $\overline{\text{cm}} \overline{\text{civ}}$ τῆς
 25 παρούσης πεντεκαιδεκάτης ἰνδικ(τίωνος), ὑδροπαροχίας δὲ καρπῶν
 τῆς σὺν Θεῷ πρώτης ἐπινεμήσεως. καὶ πρὸς ἀ[πόδ]ειξιν τῆς
 ὑποδοχῆς ταύτην πεποιήμαι τὴν χειρογραφ(ίαν), ἧτις κυρ(ία) οὐσα ἀπλ(ῆ)
 γραφ(εῖσα) καὶ ἐπερωτηθεῖς ὠμολ(όγησα). † (m. 2) Αὐρήλιος Απαωρ υἱὸς[
 Ἀπολῶτος ὁ προ-
 γεγραμμένος) πεποιήμαι τήνδε τὴν χειρογραφ(ίαν) ὑπ[ο]δεξάμενος τὸν καινὸν
 30 ἄξονα καὶ συμφ(ωνεῖ) μοι πάντα [ὡς πρ]όκ(εῖται). Δανιὴλ ἔγραψ(α) ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ
 ἀγραμμάτου ὄντος.
 (m. 3) γίν(εται) ἀξῶνος ἐνός.

(m. 2) ✱ di emu Danihliou etelioth

Back, downwards, along the fibres:

† χειρογραφ(ία) Απαωρ υἱοῦ Ἀπολῶτος ἀπὸ ἐποικ(ίου) Νικήτου
 ὑποδοχ(ῆς) [ἄξονος ἐνό]ς

1 1. ὑπατείας εὐσεβῆ 2 αυτοκρ 3 ἰνδξ οξυρρυχ(σ)ποχ 4 ὑπερφυεστατω
 8, 28, 33 1. Ἀπολλῶτος 10 ὑπερφυεια 14 ὑμωνῦπερ[φυειαν 19, 25 ἰνδικ 21 1.
 ἐπιτήδειον 25 ὕδροπαροχιας 27 ὑποδοχης χειρογραφ κυρ απχ 28 γραφ
 επερωμοχ νῖο[ς] 29 -γεγραμμῆς 29, 33 χειρογραφ 30 κυμφ [πρ]οκ εγραψ
 31 γε 1. ἄξων εἶς 33 εποικ

‘In the reign and consulship of our most godly and most pious master, Flavius Iustinus, the eternal Augustus and Emperor, year 1, Phaophi 18, indiction 15, in the city of the Oxyrhynchi.

‘To Flavius Apion, the all-renowned and most extraordinary, former *consul ordinarius* and *patri-cius*, landowner also here in the splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, through Menas, *oiketes*, who also puts the formal question and supplies for his own master, the same all-renowned man, the conduct of and responsibility for (the transaction), I, Aurelius Apaor, son of Apollos, mother — me, originating from the hamlet of Nicetes of the Oxyrhynchite nome, belonging to your excellence, a registered farmer of yours, greeting.

‘Since now too a need has arisen for an axle in the estate irrigator under my charge called “In the Rustics(?)”, which waters vine-land and arable land, I went up to the city and asked your excellence to order that this be provided to me. And at once your excellence, showing regard to the state of your affairs, (provided) the same axle, bought by me in the fields, and its price being credited to me for . . . of the fifteenth indiction; the same axle is to serve the purposes of irrigation for a seven-year period, while the old axle was given by me to the doorkeeper . . . a new one, serviceable, suitable for irrigation, satisfactory, I received as completion of all the irrigating implements this very day, which is the eighteenth of Phaophi of the current year 243/212 of the present fifteenth indiction, for the water supply of the crops of the, God willing, first *epinemesis*. And as evidence for the receipt I have made this cheirograph, which is binding, written in a single copy, and in reply to the formal question I gave my consent.’ (2nd hand) ‘I, Aurelius Apaor, son of Apollos, the aforesaid, have made this cheirograph having received the new axle, and everything satisfies me as aforesaid. I, Daniel, wrote on his behalf as he is illiterate.’

(3rd hand) ‘Total one axle.’

(2nd hand) ‘Completed through me, Danielius.’

Back: ‘Cheirograph of Apaor, son of Apollos, from the hamlet of Nicetes, for the receipt of one axle.’

1–3 For the regnal and consular formula of Justin II attested here, see *CSBE*² 210 (consular 2B), 254–5 (regnal 3). It is known exclusively from Oxyrhynchite documents of 566–8.

5 πατ[ρική]ω. See above, General Introd.

8 Απαωρ. Cf. 28, 33. On the name see T. Derda, E. Wipszycka, *JJP* 24 (1994) 52.

9 Νική[του]. Cf. 33. Another γεωργός from this settlement in charge of a μηχανή occurs in XIX 2244 63, μηχαν(αν)ής καλ[ο]νυμ(έν)ης Κοινής. For other occurrences of this locality in Apion documents see Mazza, *L'archivio degli Apioni* 183.

12 Ἀγροῖ[κικοῖς]. A μηχανή of this name is attested in three other texts; it is likely that more than one μηχανή is represented. The earliest of the three is XVI 1900 (528), of the same kind as 4788, which refers to an ἐκκλησιαστικὴν μηχανήν καλουμένην Ἀγροικικοῖς (12–13) in the care of an ἐναπόγραφος γεωργός from the ἐποίκιον Κωλώτου, a ‘holding’ of the Holy Church of Oxyrhynchus. The other two texts are accounts of the Apion estate, viz. XVI 2037 Ἀγροῖ(κικοῖς), 13 Ἀγροικ(ικοῖς), and XIX 2244 29 Ἀγροικικοῖς; in the latter, the irrigated farm is worked on by a *colonus* from the ἐποίκιον Ἰππέου.

The dative case in 1900 13 and 2244 29 is curious (but none the less I have restored it here). One would expect a genitive, as is common with named μηχαναί, or even a nominative; cf. also

XVIII **2197** 183 *μηχ[αν(ῆς)] καλουμ(ένης) τοῦ Ἀγρο(ῦ)*, and P. Rain. Cent. 101.10–11 (Heracl.; 457) *τῆς ἀργυρικῆς μου | [μη]χανῆς*. (The suggestion to resolve *Ἀγροικικῆς* and *Ἀγροικ(ικῆς)* in **2037** 1 and 13 respectively, recorded in P. Rain. Cent. 101.10–11 n = BL VIII 253, fails to take notice of the passages where the word is written in full.) The translation ‘In the Rustics’ is adopted from that of **1900** 14, though hesitantly, since a dative of place would have been very unusual in this period. Dr Rea tentatively suggests rendering ‘for the (uses, needs) of the country(people)’.

17 For axles bought ‘in the fields’, see **4800** 7–8 n.

17–18 The restorations are modelled on XVI **1989** 17–18 (590), **1990** 24–5 (591), and **1991** 28–30 (601).

18–19 **1991** 30–1, dated to Thoth of a fifth indiction, has *ὑπὲρ ἀργυρικῶν | πέμπτης ἰνδ(ικτίωνος)* (30–1). Here *ὑπ[ὲρ ἀργυρικῶν τῆς παρούσης]* (cf. 24–5) would have filled the space comfortably.

19–21 *τὸν δὲ [ἄξονα] . . . θυρουρῶ*. Cf. I **137** 23–4 (584) and XVI **1988** 29–31 (587) (both texts have *τὸν δὲ παλαιὸν δοθέντα τῷ θυρουρῶ*). On old axles, see **4785** 20 and n.

Bonneau, *Le Régime administratif de l'eau du Nil* 229, associates the return of old axles to the estate with her views on the state’s putative role in the exercise, the maintenance of irrigators being ‘une délégation de l’État’; but there is no need to resort to such theoretical constructs if we take into account the fact that wood in Egypt was always in short supply.

20 *ἐπὶ ἑπταε[τ]ῆ ἡμέρῳ*. The seven-year working life-span of axles is also mentioned in **137** 24 and XVI **1911** 162, 165, 171, 173; **1988** 30 refers to *πενταετη ἡμέρα*.

29–30 *ὑπ[ο]δεξάμενος τὸν καινὸν ἄξονα*. We find the same expression in XXXVI **2779** 25–6 (530); cf. also XXXIV **2724** 22 (469), XVI **1986** = SB XII 11231.21 (549). In XVI **1900** 30–1 (528), restored as *ὑποδεξά[μενος τὸν] | [εἰρημέν]ον ἄξονα* on the basis of XVI **1983** 25 (535), we may consider reading *ὑποδεξά[μενος] | [τὸν καιν]ὸν ἄξονα*.

30 Daniel, the same as the notary, has subscribed for an illiterate also in P. Wisc. I 8.34–5 (561).

31 *γίν(εται) ἀξωνος ἐνός*. Similar annotations occur in I **137** 26 (584), LXX **4798** 23, **4799** 29 (both of 586), XVI **1987** 31, and **1988** 34 (both of 587). (In **1987** 31, a photograph allows reading *[γ]ί[νεται] μέγ[α]ς ἐργ[α]σ[ίας] εἰς μ[έ]τρος*; *ed. pr.* had *δι’ ἐμοῦ Μάρκ[ου]*, changed to *[d]i emu Serh[nu etelioth]* by J. M. Diethart and K. A. Worp, *Notarsunterschriften im byzantinischen Ägypten* (Wien 1986) 85 (no. 18.3.2). These were probably added by an estate employee responsible for the issue of such spare parts. This may but need not be the *μηχανουργός*, who figures in **1987**, **4798**, and **4799**, but not in our text, **137**, and **1988** (note also that the annotations in **4798** and **1988** may be in the same hand).

32 The notary Danielius recurs in P. Wisc. I 8.37 (= *Byz. Not. Oxy.* 4.2.1, p. 80).

N. GONIS

4789. RECEIPT FOR REPLACEMENT PART(S) OF AN IRRIGATOR

53 1B.26(D)/F(1)b

15 × 15.1 cm

20 February 576

The upper part of a receipt for some replacement part(s) of an irrigator, addressed to Apion II by a fruit-grower (*πωμαρίτης*). The latter is not described as an *ἐναπόγραφος*, but as an employee ‘of the glorious house’; see further 12–13 n.

The text offers the earliest reference to Tiberius II (Tiberius Constantinus) in the papyri. Tiberius II was elevated to the rank of Caesar and became co-regent

of Justin II on 7 December 574, but for several months after that no mention was made of him in the dating formulas; see below, 3–5 n.

† βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ εὐσεβ] (εστάτου) ἡμῶν δεξ[πό](του) μεγίστου
 εὐεργέτου Φλ(αουῖου) Ἰουστίνου τ]οῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου καὶ Αὐτοκρ(άτορος)
 ἔτους ια, ὑπατ(είας) τῆς α[ὐτ]ῶν γαληνότητος τὸ β', καὶ Φλ(αουῖου)
 Τιβερίου τοῦ καὶ] Νέου Κωνσ[ταν]τίνου τοῦ ε[ὐ]τ[υ]χεστάτου ἡμῶν
 5 Καί]σαρος, Μεχειρ κ̅ε, ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ἐνάτης. †
 Φλαουῖω] Ἀπίωνι τῷ πανευφήμῳ καὶ ὑπερφυστ(άτω)
 ἀπὸ ὑπάτ]ων ὀρδιναρ[ί]ων καὶ πατρικίῳ, γεουχοῦντ(ι)
 καὶ ἐνταῦ]θα τῇ Νέᾳ Ἰουστίνου πόλει, διὰ Μηνᾶ οἰκέτου
 τοῦ ἐπερωτ]ῶντος καὶ προσπορίζ(οντος) τῷ ἰδίῳ δεσπό(τη)
 10 τῷ αὐτῷ πανευφήμῳ ἀνδρὶ τὴν ἀγ[[ω]]ογὴν καὶ
 ἐνωχῆν, Αὐρήλιος Πακλεων υἱὸς Βίκτορος
 ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως πωμαρίτης τοῦ ἐνδόξου
 οἴκου τῆς ὑμῶν ὑπερφυείας, χαίρειν. χρείας
 κ[αὶ νῦν γ]ε[νομ]ε[ν]ης ε[ἰς] τῇ[ν ὑπ'] ἐμέ

Back, downwards, along the fibres:

15 † χειρογρ(αφία) Πακλεωνος υἱοῦ Βίκτορο]ς πωμαρίτου [- - -

1	ευσεβ]ς	δεξ[π̅]	2	αυτοκρ	3	φλ'	5	ἰνΔ	6	ὑπερφυστς	7	γεου-
	χουντς	8	ἰουστινου	9	προσποριζ	ἰδιωδεσπς	10	l. ἀγωγὴν	11	l. ἐνωχῆν		
υἱος		13	ὑμωνῦπερφυειας									

'In the reign of our most godly and most pious master, greatest benefactor, Flavius Iustinus, the eternal Augustus and Imperator, year 11, in the consulship of his serenity for the 2nd time, and of Flavius Tiberius alias Novus Constantinus, our most fortunate Caesar, Mecheir 25, indiction ninth.

'To Flavius Apion, the all-renowned and most extraordinary former *consul ordinarius* and *patri-cius*, landowner also here in the New City of Iustinus, through Menas, *oiketes*, who puts the formal question and supplies for his own master, the same all-renowned man, the conduct of and responsibility for (the transaction), I, Aurelius Pacleon son of Victor, from the same city, a fruit-grower of the glorious house of your excellence, greeting

'Since now too a need has arisen in the . . . under me . . .'

Back: 'Cheirograph of Pacleon son of Victor, fruit-grower, . . .'

1–5 The combination of regnal and consular clauses we have here is typical of Oxyrhynchite documents; see *CSBE*² 257 (formula 2).

3–5 This is the earliest appearance of Tiberius II in a dating clause. His introduction to the clauses must have taken place towards the end of 575, since he is not mentioned in SB XVI 12865 (Herm.; 25.ix.575) and PSI III 242 (Oxy.; 30.viii.–14.xi.575). After that, most documents dating to the period of the co-regency, including all those from Oxyrhynchus, contain a reference to Tiberius II; see *CSBE*² 49, and 256 (list, to which add now **4789** and P. Eirene II 28).

The clauses of Tiberius II do not specify whether they are regnal or consular. They mostly follow after consular clauses of Justin II, which might convey the impression that Tiberius II was a consul, but this is false; see P. Eirene II 28.1–5 n. (contrast *CSBE*² 48). According to the *Chronicon Paschale* (SHB i p. 689), Tiberius II took his ‘first consulate’ in 579.

There is no indication of the number of Tiberius’ regnal year in the earliest Oxyrhynchite documents of the time of the co-regency (**4789**; LXII **4350**, of 22.vii.576; XVI **1896**, of 17.v.577; SB XII 10934, of 19.vii.577). The first text to mention the regnal year is **4790** of 11.i.578 (or, if my reading is wrong (see **4790** 6 n.), VII **1042** of 10.v.578). On the regnal years of Tiberius II, see further **4790** 1–6 n., and **4792** 1–3 n.

3 ὑπατ(ε)ίας τῆς α[ὐτ]ῶν γαληνότῆτος τὸ β’. Cf. **4790** 2–3. This consular formula is peculiar to Oxyrhynchus, and is the most frequently attested there. See *CSBE*² 48, 210–11, 255 (formula 4), and above, **4780** 3–4 n.

4 Τιβερίου τοῦ καὶ Νέου Κωνσταντίνου. Cf. **4790** 5, **4791** 3. This is the name of the emperor in all Oxyrhynchite documents in this period; see *CSBE*² 259 (but there correct ὁ Νέος to ὁ καὶ Νέος; καὶ is absent, perhaps inadvertently, only from P. Vindob. Tandem 28). For the form of this emperor’s name in later texts, see **4792** 2 n.

8 Νέα Ἰουστινίου πόλει. Cf. **4790** 8–9, **4791** 6. On this name of Oxyrhynchus, taken in honour of the emperor Justin II, see LXIX **4754** 6 n. (there, correct the date of VII **1042** to 10 May 578), and below, **4792** 6–7 n.

11 Πακλεων. The name is new, but cf. XVIII **2195** 24]πακλεωνος (the note suggests, ‘perhaps ἄ]πα Κλέωνος’, but this is not necessary; there is no room for α here); also P. Lips. I 97 vii 8, xv 15 Τακλεωνι.

12–13 πωμαρίτης τοῦ ἐνδόξου οἴκου. Cf. 15. The expression indicates a regular paid employee of the estate such as the μηχανουργοί, τέκτονες, μειζότεροι, κύμμαχοι, but also persons of higher status such as notaries, bankers, *chartularii*, etc. It is remarkable that there is no indication of his *origo*. Perhaps he was based in Oxyrhynchus, and the orchard was located nearby, e.g. in the προάστιον Ἐξω τῆς Πύλης, which had orchards, as we know from XVI **1913** 6 and LI **3640** 3. (For what it is worth, one may note that this προάστιον was an αὐτουργία of the Apions (see LV **3804** 269), and its exploitation could have been the task of a workforce other than the *adscriptionarii*.)

There are several references to πωμαρίται in Apion documents: XVI **1913** 6; **1917** 75, 76; XVIII **2195** 51; XIX **2243A** 1, 53; XXVII **2478** 15–16; LV **3805** 89. The most interesting of these is **2478**, a deed of surety of 595 for an ἐναπόγραφος πωμαρίτης. For orchards in the estate, cf. also above, **4780** and **4781**.

N. GONIS

4790. DEED OF SURETY

54 1B.25(B)/C(3)a

14.2 × 24 cm

11 January 578
Plate XIII

A surety for an ἐναπόγραφος γεωργός made by two persons, the one a resident of Oxyrhynchus, the other an ἐναπόγραφος originating from the same settlement as the person under surety (ἐποίκιον Μεγάλης Ταρουθίνου). The document breaks off at the point where the guarantors promise to deliver the person under surety, apparently to the prison of the Apion estate, should this be required of them.

Besides its prosopographical interest (see above, General Introd., p. 78), the text

is of note for the mention of the *τύχη* (*condicio*) of a *γεωργός*, a novelty in the papyri. This implies either that there were distinctions inside the category of the *ἐναπόγραφοι*, with regulations specific to the duties required of them, or that the *τύχη* of a *γεωργός* was considered different from that of an *ἐναπόγραφος*. See further 27 n.

A sheet-join runs very close to the right-hand edge; it seems that the piece was cut along the sheet-join.

† βασιλείας τοῦ θειο]τάτου καὶ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν
 δεσπότου μεγίστου εὐερ]γέτου Φλ(αουῖου) Ἰουστίνου τοῦ αἰωνίου
 Αὐγούστου καὶ Αὐ]τοκράτορος ἔτους ιγ, μετὰ τὴν δευτέραν
 ὑπατ(ε)ίαν τῆς αὐ]τῶν γαληνότητος ἔτους ιᾱ, καὶ Φλαουῖου
 5 Τιβερίου τοῦ καὶ] Νέου Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ εὐτυχεστάτου ἡμῶν
 Καίσαρος ἔτους] γ̄, Τύβ[ι] ιβ̄, ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ἑνδεκάτης.+
 Φλαουῖω Ἀπίωνι τῶ] πα[ν]ευφήμω ἀπὸ ὑπάτων ὀρδυναρίων
 καὶ πατρικίω, γεου]χοῦντι καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ Νέ[α] Ἰουστίνου
 πόλει, διὰ Μην]ᾶ οἰκέτου τοῦ ἐπερωτῶντος καὶ προσ-
 10 πορίζοντος τῶ] ἰδίῳ δεσπότῃ τῶ αὐτῶ πανευφήμω
 ἀνδρὶ τὴν ἀγω]γὴν καὶ ἐνοχὴν, Αὐρήλιοι Σερήνος
 υἱὸς ε.7]νου μητρὸς Θεοδώρας ὀρμώμενος
 ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πό]λεως, ἐξῆς ὑπογράφων ἰδία χειρί,
 καὶ ε.5 υἱὸς] Βίκτορος μητρὸς Θέκλας ὀρμώμενος
 15 ἀπὸ κτήματος Μ]εγάλης Ταρουθίνου τοῦ Ἰουστινουπολίτου
 νομοῦ διαφέρ]οντος τῇ ὑμῶν ὑπερφυῖα, ἐναπόγραφος
 αὐτῆς γεωργός], χαίρειν. ὁμολογοῦμεν ἐκουσίως καὶ
 αὐθαιρέτως ἐπο]μνύμενοι τὸν θεῖον καὶ σεβάμιον
 ὄρκον ἐγγυᾶς]θαι καὶ ἀναδέχεσθαι παρὰ τῇ ὑμῶν ὑπερφυῖα
 20 διὰ τῶν αὐτῇ π]ροσηκόντων Αὐρήλιον [Co]υροῦν υἱὸν
 Φιβ μητρ]ῶς Αμα Ἡοῦτ[ο]ς, ὀρμώμενον καὶ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ
 αὐτοῦ κτ]ήματος, ἐναπόγραφον αὐτῆς καὶ αὐτὸν γεωργόν,
 ἐφ' ᾧτε] αὐτὸν ἀδιαλείπτως παραμεῖναι καὶ διάγειν
 ἐν τῶ] αὐτῶ κτήμ[ατ]ι μετὰ τῶν αὐτοῦ φιλτάτων καὶ
 25 γαμετ]ῆς καὶ κτηνῶν καὶ πάσης τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀποσκευῆς,
 ἀποκρ]ινόμενον εἰς ἅπαντα τὰ ὀρώντα τὸ αὐτοῦ πρόσωπον
 ἢτοι τῇ]ν τοῦ [ἐ]ναπ[ο]γράφου καὶ γεωργοῦ τύχην· καὶ μηδαμῶς
 αὐτὸν κ]αταλεί[ψ]αι τὸ α[ὐ]τ[ό] κτήμα μήτε μὴν μεθίστασθαι
 εἰς ἕτερο]ν τόπον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπιζητούμενον αὐτὸν πρὸς
 30 ἡμᾶς π]αρὰ τῆς ὑμ[ῶν] ὑπερφυῖα[ς δ]ιὰ τῶν αὐτῇ διαφερόν-
 των . . . [. . .] . . . [. . .] . . .

Back:

] Φιβ ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ κτή[μ(ατος)

2 φλ'ίουστινου 4 φλαουῖου 6 ινΔ 8 ἰουστινου 13 ὑπογραφωνῖ-
 δια 15 ἰουστινουπολιτου 16, 19 ὑμωνῦπερφυῖα; 1. ὑπερφυεία 28 μεθ'ἴστασθαι
 30 ὑμ[ων]υπερφυῖας; 1. ὑπερφυείας

'In the reign of our most godly and most pious master, greatest benefactor, Flavius Iustinus, the eternal Augustus and Imperator, year 13, after the second consulship of his serenity, year 11, and of Flavius Tiberius alias Novus Constantinus, our most fortunate Caesar, year 3, Tybi 16, indiction eleventh.

'To Flavius Apion, the all-renowned former *consul ordinarius* and *patricius*, landowner also in this New City of Iustinus, through Menas, *oiketes*, who puts the formal question and supplies for his own master, the same all-renowned man, the conduct of and responsibility for (the transaction), we, Aurelii Serenus son of —nus, mother Theodora, originating from the same city, signing below in his own hand, and . . . son of Victor, mother Thecla, originating from the holding of Great Taruthinu of the Iustinopolite nome, belonging to your excellence, a registered farmer of yours, greeting.

'We acknowledge willingly and voluntarily, swearing the divine and august oath, that we give surety and pledge to your excellence through your subordinates for Aurelius Surus son of Phib, (mother) Ama Eüs, himself too originating from the same estate and himself too a registered farmer, on condition that he shall remain continuously and abide in the same estate with his dearest ones and his wife and animals and all his household stuff, being responsible for everything that regards his person, that is, the condition of the *adscripticius* and farmer; and he shall on no account leave the same holding nor transfer to a another place, but if he is required of us by your excellence through your dependants . . .'

Back: ' . . . Phib from the same holding . . .'

1–6 I have restored the missing elements of the dating clause on the basis of VII **1042**, dated 10 May 578; cf. also PSI III 243 (578). The regnal year of Tiberius II here should have been the 4th, not the 3rd (see below, 6 n.): the starting point for the reckoning should have been the date of his elevation to the rank of Caesar and appointment as co-ruler of Justin II (7 December 574). Oxyrhynchite scribes, however, calculated the regnal years of Tiberius II from some later date, so that a given year trailed the one used elsewhere by ten and a half, if not by twelve, months; see B. Kramer, D. Hagedorn, *ZPE* 42 (1981) 126. This changed some time between 2 January (PSI VII 786) and 18 July 581 (SB XX 15138), when the 'proper' reckoning was introduced; cf. **4794**. On the reckoning of the regnal years of Tiberius II, see further *CSBE*² 48–9, 152–3, 257–60, and **4792** 1–3 n.

3–4 μετὰ τὴν δευτέραν ὑπατ(ε)ίαν τῆς αὐ[τῶν] γαληνότητος ἔτους ια̅. Justin II took the consulate twice, in 566 and 568. From 569 onwards, Oxyrhynchite documents invariably refer to this second consulate, usually with the formula ὑπατείας τῆς αὐτῶν γαληνότητος τὸ β (see here **4789** 3, **4791** 2–3). A minority have the formula attested here: apart from **4790**, it occurs in VII **1042** 6–8 and PSI III 243.4–6, both of 578. This formula recurs in documents from Syene/Elephantine (P. Lond. V 1723.2–3, of 577; P. Münch. I 2 = W. Chr. 470.12, of 578), and is found outside Egypt too (P. Ness. III 24.1, of 569; 27.2, of 570/1). The consulate of 568 is also referred to in two Arsinoite documents attesting posthumous postconsular formulas (CPR XIV 11, of 578; P. Harrauer 54, of 579).

All three Oxyrhynchite documents attesting the 'minority formula' take 568 as the first postconsular year: they give the iteration figuræ as 11 instead of 10. A similar reckoning is found in a number of postconsular datings by Justin II that take 566 as his first postconsular year (others use the normal

counting from 567). See in general P. Harrauer 54.1–3 n.; *CSBE*² 48, 94–5. (I discuss this issue, especially its treatment in *CSBE*², in *ZPE* 154 (2005) 211–13.)

6 ἔτους] $\bar{\chi}$. After the break, one sees the right extremity of an apparent horizontal, curling slightly upwards; above it, on a twisted fibre, what looks like a smallish oblique descending from left to right, but perhaps only the end of a high horizontal. These I take to belong to τ and the supralinear bar marking year numbers. The traces do not admit Δ . It is also difficult to reconcile the traces with ς , i.e. to read *Καίσαρο*ς (ς would then have been written too high in the line), and posit a clause that makes no mention of Tiberius' regnal year (see **4789** 3–5 n. para. 3).

8 ἐν ταύτη. This prepositional construction is rare in this context; the only parallel is **LXIX 4754** 6 (572) (for **XVIII 2196** 3, see **BL III** 142). We usually find ἐνταῦθα.

8–9 τῇ Νέ[α] Ἰουστίνου [πόλει. See **4789** 8 n.

15 κτήματος Μεγάλης Ταρουθίνου. This settlement is attested in several Apion documents; see Mazza, *L'archivio degli Apioni* 186. In most texts it is called a κτήμα; see **SB V** 8264.4 (524; see **BL VII** 198), **I 135** = *W. Chr.* 384.13–14 (579), *P. Mich.* XV 743.9–10 (622; see **LXVIII 4703** 4 n.), *P. Wisc.* I 11.6–7, 36 (VII). Only in *P. Col.* VIII 245v.1 ('VI') is it described as an ἐποίκιον. I have accordingly restored κτήματος here (but note that the instances of the word in 22, 28, and 32 should not be taken as conclusive).

17 γεωργός is restored on the basis of 22, καὶ αὐτὸν γεωργόν.

21 Ἀμα Ἰουστ[ο]ς. The name is not known otherwise, though compare the male name *Ἀπα Ηου*. Cf. also the female name *Ἀηου*, 'probably a variant of Ἰηου, Ἰηούτος, which is usually masculine' (**LXIII 4393** 2 n.). One may also consider reading Ἀμα (Ἰ)ηουστ[ο]ς.

22 ἐναπόγραφον αὐτῆς καὶ αὐτὸν γεωργόν. The word order is not that expected (καὶ αὐτὸν ἐναπόγραφον κτλ.; cf. **I 199** = *P. Lond.* III (pp. 279–80) 778.14, **XVI 1979** 16, **LXX 4794** 13, etc.). See next note.

27 τῆ]ν τοῦ [ἐ]ναπ[ο]γράφου καὶ γεωργοῦ τύχην. We expect τὴν τοῦ ἐναπογράφου τύχην *tout court*; cf. *P. Wash. Univ.* I 25.13 (530), **I 199** = *P. Lond.* III 778.17 (568), **I 135** = *W. Chr.* 384.19 (579), **XLIV 3204** 16 (588), **LXIX 4756** 1 (late VI), *P. Mert.* II 98.8–9 (VII), *P. Heid.* III 248.9 (VI/VII). For comment on this clause, see I. F. Fikhman, *Pap. Congr. XVI* (1981) 474–6. Not all ἐναπόγραφοι were γεωργοί; cf. the ἀγροφύλαξ in *P. Lond.* III 778, the *πωμαρίτης* in **XXVII 2478**, the *κηπουρός* in *P. Amh.* II 149, and perhaps the φύλαξ in **XVI 1979**. Their individual *condicio* may have been determined by the nature of their duties, and this may be the implication here. Still, all these occupations were closely linked with agriculture; see I. F. Fikhman, *Pap. Flor.* XIX (1990) 175. Thus we may also consider whether this passage suggests that the *τύχη* (*condicio*) of an ἐναπόγραφος was distinct from that of a γεωργός. A reference to the *τύχη* of γεωργοί is found in *Nov. Just.* 157 *τύχης γεωργικῆς*. Assuming that *κολωνός* = γεωργός, it is the latter's *condicio* that is described in *Nov. Just.* 164.2. The *coloni* had to remain where they were born and work the land; they were not allowed to transfer to a different place unless they acquired a property that would demand their full attention:

δείκνυσι δὲ ἡ παρ' ἡμῶν τεθείκα διάταξις ὡς βούλεται τοὺς τοιοῦτους οἰκήτορας τῶν χωρίων διαμένειν καὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐργάτας, οἳ ἐκεῖσε γεννηθέντας· τοῦτο γὰρ δὴ τὸ τοῦ κολωνοῦ βούλεται πρόσρημα. . . . οὐκ ἐξελεύονται δὲ τοῦ χωρίου, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο γεωργήσουσιν, οὐδὲ ἔσται αὐτοῖς ἄδεια τοῦτο μὲν ἀπολιμπάνειν ἕτερα δὲ περινοστεῖν ἄλλότρια, πλὴν εἰ μὴ κύριοι γένοιτο κτήσεώς τινος ἰδίας, ἱκανῆς οὔσης ἀσχολεῖν αὐτοὺς περὶ αὐτὴν καὶ μὴ συγχωρούσης καὶ ἕτερα γεωργεῖν, εἰς ἐκείνην τε μετασταίειν.

The obligations of the *coloni* as described in the legislation parallel the duties of the persons under surety.

28 μεθίστασθαι, μεθ'ἴστασθαι *pap.* For the use of the apostrophe to distinguish the constituents of a compound, a practice more at home in literary papyri, see *GMAW*² p. 11 with n. 49.

32 The docket will have run along the lines of † ἐγγύη *Κερήνου υἱοῦ Ν.Ν. ἀπὸ τῆς Νέας Ἰουστίνου πόλ(εως) καὶ Ν.Ν. υἱοῦ Βίκτορος ἀπὸ κτήμ(ατος) Μεγάλης Ταρουθίνου ἀναδεχομ(ένων) Κουρούν υἱόν] Φιβ ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ κτή[μ(ατος).*

N. GONIS

4791. DEED OF SURETY

54 IB.26(E)/C(5)a

21.7 × c.16 cm

25 March 578

The upper part of a deed of surety for two brothers, both *ἐναπόγραφοι*, made by another *ἐναπόγραφος*. The papyrus breaks off at the point where the obligations of the persons under surety would have been listed.

The text furnishes the latest known date in the life of Apion II (see above, General Introd., p. 78).

† βα[κιλεία]ς τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ ἐ[ὕβεβ(εστάτου) ἡμῶν δεσπότης μεγίστου εὐεργέτου
 Φλ(αουῖου) Ἰουστίνου
 τοῦ αἰωνίου Ἀυγούστου καὶ [Ἀυτοκράτορος ἔτους ιγ, ὑπατείας τῆς αὐτῶν γαληνότητος
 τὸ β, καὶ Φλ(αουῖου) Τιβερίου τοῦ καὶ Νέ[ου] Κων[σταντίνου τοῦ εὐτυχεστάτου ἡμῶν
 Καίσαρος ἔτους γ,
 Φαμενώθ κθ̄, ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ιᾱ, (ἔτους) ενδ σκγ.

- 5 Φλαουῖω Ἀπίωνι τῷ [πα]νευφήμῳ καὶ ὑπερφνεστάτῳ ἀπὸ ὑπάτων
 ὀρδιναρίων καὶ πατρι[κί]ω, γεουχοῦντι καὶ ἐνταῦθα τῇ Νέᾳ Ἰουστίνου πόλει,
 διὰ Μηνᾶ οἰκέτου τοῦ ἐπερωτῶντος καὶ προσπορίζοντος τῷ ἰδίῳ δεσπότη
 τῷ αὐτῷ πανευφήμῳ [ἀν]δρὶ τ[ὴν ἀ]γωγὴν καὶ ἐνοχῆν, Ἀυρήλιος
 Φιλοξένος υἱὸς Ἀπ[- c.5 μη]τρὸς Μαρίας, ἀπὸ ἐποικίου Κυμαῶνος
 10 τοῦ Ἰουστινουπολίτου [νομοῦ δι]αφέροντος τῇ ὑμετέρα ὑπερφυεῖα,
 ἐναπόγραφος αὐτῆς [γεωργός]ς, χαίρειν. ὁμολογῶ ἐκουσία γνώμη
 καὶ αὐθαιρέτῳ προαιρέ[σει ἐπο]μνύμενος τὸν θεῖον καὶ σεβάσμιον
 ὄρκον ἐγγυᾶσθαι καὶ ἀ[ναδέχεσθ]αι παρὰ τῇ ὑμετέρα ὑπερφυεῖα
 Φι- c.7] υἱὸν . . . [c.6 μη]τρὸς Μαρίας καὶ Φοιβάμμωνα ἀδελφὸν
 15 αὐτοῦ ὀρωμένους καὶ αὐτοὺς] ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ κτήματος καὶ αὐτοὺς
 ἐναπογράφους γεωργούς(?), ἐφ' ᾧτ]ε αὐτοὺς ἀδιαλείπτως παραμεῖναι
 καὶ διάγειν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ κτή]ματι μετὰ τῆς αὐτῶν ἀποσκευῆς
 καὶ φιλάτων καὶ γαμετῶν καὶ κτηνῶν ἀποκρινομ]έ[νους] εἰς ἅπαντα

Back, downwards, along the fibres:

- † ἐγγύη γεναμ(ένη) π(αρά) Φιλοξένο[υ υἱοῦ Ἀπ— ἀπὸ ἐποικ(ίου) Κυμαῶνος
 20 ἀνα[δ]εχομ(ένου) Φι. [- - - καὶ Φοιβάμμωνα ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ(?) - -

3 φλ) 4 ινΔ L 5 φλαουῖω ὑπερφυεστατω ὑπατων 6 ἰουστινου
 7 ἰδιω 10, 13 ὑμετεραῦπερφυεια 13 εἴγνασθαι 19 γεναμψ# 20 ανα-
 δεχομψ

‘In the reign of our most godly and most pious master, greatest benefactor, Flavius Iustinus, the eternal Augustus and Emperor, year 13, in the consulship of his serenity for the 2nd time, and of Flavius Tiberius alias Novus Constantinus, our most fortunate Caesar, year 3, Phamenoth 29, indiction 11, year 254/223.

‘To Flavius Apion, the all-renowned and most extraordinary former *consul ordinarius* and *patrius*, landowner also here in the New City of Iustinus, through Menas, *oiketes*, who puts the formal question and supplies for his own master, the same all-renowned man, the conduct of and responsibility for (the transaction), I, Aurelius Philoxenus son of Ap—, mother Maria, originating from the hamlet of Cyamon of the Iustinopolite nome, belonging to your excellence, a registered farmer of yours, greeting.

‘I acknowledge by willing resolve and voluntary choice, swearing the divine and august oath, that I give surety and pledge to your excellence for Phi—, son of . . ., mother Maria, and Phoebammon, his brother, originating themselves too from the same holding, registered farmers themselves too, on condition that they shall remain continuously and abide in the same holding with their household stuff and dearest ones and wives and animals, answering to every . . .’

Back: ‘Surety made by Philoxenus . . . son of Ap—, from the hamlet of Cyamon, pledging for Phi— . . . and Phoebammon, his brother(?) . . .’

1–4 For the restored regnal formulas and years, cf. **4790**. This particular combination of regnal and consular formulas is attested also by XVI **1896** (577). Year 254 = 223 of the era of Oxyrhynchus, coterminous with indiction 11, corresponds to 577/8; see *CSBE*² 152.

2–3 ὑπατείας τῆς αὐτῶν γαληνότητος τὸ β. See **4789** 3 n.

9 ἐποικίου Κναμῶνος. This settlement is also attested in XVIII **2204** 5 and XIX **2244** ii 9 (both texts are accounts of the Apion estate).

11 [γεωργό]ς. The word restored is not guaranteed, but is the expected one and suits the space.

14 Φι- c.7]. See 20 and n.

14–15 ἀδελφὸν [αὐτοῦ]. I would exclude that the papyrus had ἀδελφὸν [ἐμοῦ, as in **4794** 11, since in that case the brother of the guarantor would have been mentioned before the other person under surety.

15 ὀρωμένους καὶ αὐτούς is restored on the model of **4794** 12.

15–16 καὶ αὐτούς [ἐναπογράφους γεωργούς(?)]. The restored part has no parallel among published papyri (there is no room for αὐτῆς). καὶ αὐτούς suggests that the persons under surety were of the same status and had the same occupation as the guarantor, who calls himself an ἐναπόγραφος . . . [γεωργό]ς (11).

17 μετὰ τῆς αὐτῶν ἀποσκευῆς. This expression occurs at this point also in PSI I 52.18 and SB XVIII 14006.21–2. In most other texts it follows the reference to persons and animals; cf. e.g. **4790** 24–5.

18 The sequence καὶ φιλάτων καὶ γαμετῶν καὶ κτηνῶν suits the space, but is restored only *exempli gratia*.

20 Φι- [. What remains of the letter after Φι seems to be a tall upright trace. Φιλ[οξένου is very difficult, though [Φιλόξενου] would suit the space in 14.

4792. TOP OF DOCUMENT

54 1B.26(E)/D(12)b

10.8 × 11.3 cm

19 January 579
Plate I

The upper right part of a document of unknown nature, addressed to the heirs of Apion II. This is their earliest occurrence in a papyrus, which provides a *terminus ante quem* for the death of Apion II; see above, General Introduction, p. 78. A further point of interest is the regnal date, which is the earliest Egyptian record of the sole rule of Tiberius II; see below 1–3 n. The text also offers the earliest instance for Oxyrhynchus' return to its traditional name, briefly abandoned under the reign of Justin II; see further 6–7 n.

The back is blank so far as it is preserved.

† βασιλείας τοῦ] θειοτάτου καὶ εὐσεβ(εστάτου) ἡμῶν δεσπότης
 μεγίστου εὐερ]γέτου Φλ(αοῦτου) Τιβερίου Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ
 αἰωνίου Αὐγού]του καὶ Αὐτοκρ(άτορος) ἔτους ᾱ, Τῦβι κδ, ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ιβ.
 τοῖς ὑπερφ]υεστάτοις {καὶ} κληρονόμοις τοῦ τῆς
 5 πανευκλεοῦ]ς μνήμης Ἀπίωνος γενομένου
 πρωτοπατρι]κίου, γε[ο]υχοῦσιν καὶ ἐνταῦθα τῇ λαμπρᾷ
 Ὁξυρυγχ(ιτῶν) πόλ(ει)], διὰ Μηνᾶ οἰκέτου τοῦ ἐπερωτῶντος
 καὶ προσπορ]ίζοντο[ς] τοῖς ἰδίοις δεσπότηις τοῖς
 αὐτοῖς πανευ]φή[μοι]ς ἀνδράσιν τὴν ἀγωγὴν
 10 καὶ ἐνοχῆν,] Αὐρήλι[ο]ι Γερμανὸς φρ(οντιστή)ς υἱὸς Ψεείου
 ε.8 μη]τρὸς Α.[.]ς καὶ ...[...]. .[.].

1 ευσεβς 2 φλς 3 αυτοκρ ἰνδ̄ιβ 8 ιδ 10 φρυῖος

'In the reign of our most godly and most pious master, greatest benefactor, Flavius Tiberius Constantinus, the eternal Augustus and Imperator, year 1, Tybi 24, indiction 12.

'To the most extraordinary heirs of Apion of all well-famed memory, the late first *patricius*, landowners here also in the splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, through Menas, *oiketes*, who puts the formal question and provides for his own masters, the same all-renowned men, the conduct of and responsibility for (the transaction), we, Aurelii Germanus, care-taker, son of Pseeius, . . . , mother A—, and . . .'

1–3 This is the earliest reference to the sole rule of Tiberius II in a papyrus. The news of the death of his predecessor, or rather co-regent, on 5 October 578 had become known in Egypt by 20 December 578; see CPR XIV 11, which uses a posthumous postconsular formula of Justin II.

The usual reckoning of the regnal years of Tiberius II is from his elevation to the rank of Caesar and appointment as co-regent of Justin II, on 7 December 574; see above, 4790 1–6 n. But in 4792 his regnal years appear to be counted from the start of his sole rule. The same reckoning is in evidence in SB VI 9085 inv. 16050 (Hermopolis; 8 September 579), and P. Lond. V 1725 = P. Münch.

I 3 (Syene; 6 March 580), but has been thought to stem 'from confusion with or identification with the consular dating of Tiberius' (Bagnall & Worp, *Regnal Formulas of Byzantine Egypt* 55 = *CSBE*² 258; cf. also *CSBE*² 49, where the point is made more cautiously, and 152 n. 39). In view of **4792**, we may consider whether in the earlier part of Tiberius' sole rule Egyptian scribes used an era starting with his enthronement as Augustus, but soon reverted to the older reckoning; this is first attested in Oxyrhynchus/Middle Egypt (I **135** = *W. Chr.* 384, of 21 March 579), while Upper Egypt seems to have followed somewhat later (CPR IX 31, from Hermopolis, dated 14 March 581).

Another noteworthy feature is the absence of a consular formula, likewise absent from I **135**, the second earliest Oxyrhynchite document of 579; the earliest Oxyrhynchite instance of the first consulate of Tiberius II comes from PSI VIII 963 of 21 October 579 (see BL VIII 404). In view of **135** and **4792**, Tiberius' regnal formula 8 in *CSBE*² 258–9 should be divided into two sub-formulas, one coupled with a consular formula and one without it. (It should perhaps be specified that *ὑπατείας* cannot be restored instead of *βασιλείας* here; the collocation *τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότητος* is found in regnal but not in consular formulas.)

2 *Φλ(αούτου) Τιβερίου Κωνσαντίνου*. This is the standard name of Tiberius II in all Oxyrhynchite documents dating from the period of his sole rule; see *CSBE*² 257–9.

4–5 *τοῖς ὑπερφ]υεστάτοις {καὶ} κληρονόμοις . . . Ἀπίωνος*. Cf. **4793** 4, **4794** 4, **4795** 7–8, **4796** 5–6. These are the heirs of Apion II; see J. Gascou, *T&MByz* 9 (1985) 68 n. 382, and B. Palme, *ZRG* 115 (1998) 295, who discuss the changes in the formulations referring to them. The terms *κληρονόμοι* and *ἄνδρες* are attested until 8 October 583 (**4796**); for later developments, see **4798** 4 n.

This is now the earliest evidence for the death of Apion II. CPR XIV 11, of 20 December 578, should not be taken to suggest that Apion II was dead by that date (for this view see Palme, *ZRG* 115 (1998) 294 n. 15). Even if the occurrence of two new pagarchs of the Arsinoite and Theodosiopolite in CPR XIV 11 might imply that the pagarch named Apion, known from BGU I 303 and CPR XIV 10, was dead by that time, the latter could hardly have been Apion II; see above, **4786** introd.

καὶ is otiose, but recurs in **4793** 4. Perhaps one wished to combine the facts that the persons thus addressed were *ὑπερφύεστατοι* (by virtue of their status) and heirs of Apion.

5–6 Posthumous references to Apion II take one of the four following forms:

(a) *τοῦ τῆς εὐκλεοῦς μνήμης Ἀπίωνος γενομένου πρωτοπατρικίου*: **4792** 4–6 (579) ([*πανευκλεοῦ*]c), ?**4793** 4–5, (579²), XVI **1976** 5–6, LXX **4795** 7–8 (582), I **137** 5–6 (see BL X 135), VI **996** = SB XVI 12484.3 (584), XVI **1898** 7–9, **1987** 6–7, **1988** 6–7, **1993** 9–11 (587).

(b) *τοῦ {τῆς} ἐν εὐκλεεὶ τῇ μνήμῃ Ἀπίωνος γενομένου πατρικίου*: I **135** 4–5 (579), P. Iand. III 48.6–7, I **199** = P. Lond. III (p. 281) 777.5–6, I **202** = SB XXII 15364.6–7 (582), LXX **4796** 5–6 (583), XVI **1989** 5–6 (590), **1990** 7–8 (591).

(c) *τοῦ {τῆς} ἐν εὐκλεεὶ τῇ μνήμῃ Ἀπίωνος γενομένου πρωτοπατρικίου*: **4794** 4–5 (580), I **136** 4–5 (583).

(d) *τοῦ τῆς εὐκλεοῦς μνήμης Ἀπίωνος*: I **193** = P. Lond. III (pp. 280–1) 774.5–6 (582), LXX **4799** 5–6 (586).

Most instances fall under (a) and (b). In (a) Apion is called *πρωτοπατρικίος*, in (b) *πατρικίος*; *πρωτοπατρικίος* is also found in (c), a hybrid of (b) and (a). (d) gives Apion no title, but shares the first part of the formula with (a).

All texts classified under (a) that preserve a notarial signature are signed by Papnuthius (**137**, **1898**, **1976**, **1988**, and **1993**; **996**, **1987** (see **4788** 31 n.), **4792**, **4793**, and **4795** are broken off at the foot). The two (c) texts, which likewise have the title *πρωτοπατρικίος*, are also signed by Papnuthius. Papnuthius has further signed one of the two examples of (d), viz. **4799** (**193** has lost its lower part).

That the title *πρωτοπατρικίος* occurs in documents signed by Papnuthius was first pointed out by R. Mazza, *Simblos* 2 (1997) 218–9 with n. 28 (cf. also **4798**). We may now observe that (scribes working with) Papnuthius also favoured the expression *τοῦ τῆς εὐκλεοῦς μνήμης* (the sequence **τοῦ*

τῆς εὐκλεοῦς μνήμης Ἀπίωνος γενομένου πατρικίου has not been attested). But we find the equivalent τοῦ {τῆς} ἐν εὐκλεεῖ τῇ μνήμῃ in texts signed by Papnuthius too; this might be due to scribes previously working with notaries other than Papnuthius. In all (b) texts that preserve a notarial signature, the notary's name is invariably Anastasius (135, 1989, 1990, and P. Iand. III 48; 199, 202, and 4796 are broken off at the foot).

The collocation τοῦ {τῆς} ἐν εὐκλεεῖ τῇ μνήμῃ was used again with Apion III; see LVIII 3960 1 (621), and LXVIII 4703 4–5 (622) (note that the latter example does not have the erroneous τῆς).

5 [πανευκλεοῦ]ς. εὐκλεοῦς would be too short for the space, while [πανευκλεοῦ]ς would just fit. The expression τῆς πανευκλεοῦς μνήμης has not occurred in any other text referring to Apion II, but is used several times in LXIII 4397 (545) for the deceased Strategius I(I); see 4397 48 n.

6 πρωτοπατρι]κίου, rather than πατρι]κίου, is restored on the grounds of space. This is now the earliest attestation of this title, discussed by Mazza, *Simblos* 2 (1997) 211–19.

6–7 τῇ λαμπρᾷ [Ὁξυρνηγγ(ιτών) πόλει]. After the death of Justin II, Oxyrhynchus abandoned the name ἡ Νέα Ἰουστινίου πόλις, taken in honour of the emperor around 570 (see LXIX 4754 6 n.; cf. above, 4789 8 n.), and resumed its old name and the epithet λαμπρά. 4792 shows that the change was effected shortly after the news of the emperor's death had reached the city.

9 ἀνδράειν. See 4798 4 n.

10 Γερμανὸς φροντιστής. Cf. XVIII 2197 136 εἰς χρεῖαν τοῦ λάκκ(ου) τῆς [μηχα(νῆς)] Γερμανοῦ φροντιστοῦ. In case both texts refer to the same man, the 15th, 1st, 2nd, and 3rd indictions mentioned in 2197 might correspond to 581/2, 582/3, 583/4, and 584/5.

On the function of φροντισταί see E. R. Hardy, *The Large Estates of Byzantine Egypt* (1931) 133, who concludes that 'they were in some way the first among the serfs [= ἐναπόγραφοι γεωργοί] of their hamlets'; evidence published subsequently corroborates this statement (cf. LXII 4350–4351). Certain ἐποίκια apparently had only one φροντιστής; cf. XVI 1983 9 (535) ἀδελφὸς τοῦ φροντιστοῦ, or 2024 7 (VI) τῷ φροντιστῇ Νήσου Λευκαδίου. But contrast XVI 1935 5 (VI) τοῖς φροντισταῖς τοῦ ἀὔτου κτήματος. For other φροντισταί in charge of irrigators, cf. XVI 2029 5, 2037 28, XVIII 2195 167, 2197 96, 136 (cited above), 217, XIX 2244 45, 61, 78.

The abbreviation φρ = φροντιστής is common in Oxyrhynchite texts of this date. (In P. Laur. IV 185A.8 it seems preferable to resolve φροντιστοῦ in place of φρ(ουροῦ).)

Ψείλου. Cf. 4801 10, 16. On the name see CPR XXII 4.12 n., and S. Hodeček, F. Mitthof, *APF* 51/1 (2005) 81 (n. 1. 3).

11 At the beginning of the line there will have stood the occupation of Pseius or, less likely, an alias.

A. [. . .] c: Ἀν[υ]αε?

N. GONIS

4793. RECEIPT FOR REPLACEMENT PART(S) OF AN IRRIGATOR

53 1B.26(F)/D(10)b

5.9 × 11.2 cm

579?

This scrap is published for the attestation of a formula of address to the heirs of Apion II which otherwise occurs only in 4792 (see 4 n.). It is yet another receipt for a spare part of an irrigator, issued to an ἐναπόγραφος γεωργός.

I have made little effort to determine which words were abbreviated in the lost part of the text, though the abbreviations were probably numerous.

† βασιλείας τοῦ [θειοτάτου καὶ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότου
 μεγίστου εὐεργέ[του Φλ(αουῖου) Τιβερίου Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ αἰωνίου
 Αὐγούστου καὶ Αὐτο[κρ](άτορος) [ἔτους α(?), month day, ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ιβ(?).
 τοῖς ὑπερφ(υεστάτοις) {καὶ} κλ[ηρονόμοις τοῦ τῆς εὐκλεοῦς μνήμης Ἀπίωνος
 5 γενομένου πρωτο[πατρικίου, γεουχοῦσιν καὶ ἐνταῦθα τῇ λαμπρᾷ
 Ὁξυρρυχιτῶν πόλ[ει, διὰ Μηνᾶ οἰκέτου τοῦ ἐπερωτῶντος
 καὶ προσπορίζον[τος τοῖς ἰδίοις δεσπόταις τοῖς αὐτοῖς πανευφήμοις
 ἀνδράσιν τὴν ἀγωγ[ῆν καὶ ἐνοχῆν, Αὐρήλιος Ψαν— υἱὸς name
 μητρὸς Ἡραΐδος [ὀρμώμενος ἀπὸ ἐποικίου name τοῦ Ὁξυρρυχίτου
 10 νομοῦ διαφέροντ[ος τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ ὑπερφυείᾳ, ἐναπόγραφος αὐτῆς
 γεωργός, χαίρει[ν. χρείας καὶ νῦν γεναμένης εἰς τὴν ὑπ' ἐμέ
 γ]εουχικῆν [μηχανὴν καλουμένην

Back, downwards, along the fibres:

† χειρογραφ(ία) Ψαν[-

3 αυτο[κρ],

4 ὑπερφ'φ'

9 ηραΐδος

13 χειρογραφ

'In the reign of our most godly and most pious master, greatest benefactor, Flavius Tiberius Constantinus, the eternal Augustus and Imperator, year 1(?), . . . , indiction 12(?).

'To the most extraordinary heirs of Apion of well-famed memory, the late first *patricius*, land-owners here also in the splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, through Menas, *oiketes*, who puts the formal question and provides for his own masters, the same all-renowned men, the conduct of and responsibility for (the transaction), I, Aurelius Psan—, son of . . . , mother Heraïs, from the hamlet of . . . of the Oxyrhynchite nome, belonging to your excellence, a registered farmer of yours, greeting.

'Since now too a need has arisen in the estate irrigator in my charge called . . .'

Back: 'Cheirograph of Psan— . . .'

1–3 The dating clause is restored on the basis of **4792** 1–3 (there is no room for a consular formula); for discussion see the note there. Dating clauses of Tiberius II that lack a consular formula date from the earlier part of 579.

3 ἔτους α(?). It is equally possible that the year number was 4, as in **I 135**.

ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ιβ(?). Or ιγ, if the text dated from after Thoth 1. PSI VIII 963, of 21 October 579, provides the *terminus ante quem* (see **4792** 1–3 n. para. 3).

4–8 τοῖς ὑπερφ(υεστάτοις) . . . ἀνδράσιν. See **4792** 4–5 n., 5–6 n.

4 τοῖς ὑπερφ(υεστάτοις) {καὶ} κλ[ηρονόμοις. Cf. **4792** 4 and 4–5 n. (para. 3).

ὑπερφ(υεστάτοις), ὑπερφ'φ' pap. I have not seen the word abbreviated in this manner in any other Apionic document.

N. GONIS

4794. DEED OF SURETY

53 1B.26(F)/A(8)a

33.5 × 31 cm

28 February 580

A deed of surety for two *ἐναπόγραφοι* made by the brother of one of the two. The guarantor styles himself *ἀπὸ μειζόνων*, 'former (village) headman', and *ἐναπόγραφος γεωργός* of the heirs of Apion II. The post of the village headman was not previously known to have been held by a person of this status, which is of some interest. It is even more interesting that the guarantor pledges his 'present and future belongings' to secure the terms of the deed, which may imply that he owned land. This has not been attested for any other Egyptian *ἐναπόγραφος*, but was not unknown in the Empire at large; see below, 19–21 n.

† βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτ[άτου καὶ εὐ]ρεβ(εστάτου) ἡμῶν δεσπότης μεγίστου εὐεργέτου
 Φλ(αουῖου) Τιβερίου Κωνσταντ(ίνου)
 τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγού[του καὶ Α]ὐτοκράτορος ἔτους ε̄, ὑπατίας τοῦ αὐτ(οῦ)
 εὐρεβ(εστάτου) ἡμῶν δεσπότης ἔτους β̄,
 Φαμενώθ γ̄, ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ιγ̄.
 τοῖς ὑπερφνεστά[τοις κ]ληρονόμοις τοῦ {τῆς} ἐν εὐκλεεῖ τῇ μνήμῃ Ἀπίωνος
 γενομένου
 5 πρωτοπατρικίου, γε[ουχοῦσι]ν καὶ ἐνταῦθα τῇ λαμπρᾷ Ὁξυρυγιτῶν πόλει, διὰ
 Μηνᾶ οἰκέτου,
 τοῦ ἐπερωτῶντος [καὶ προς]πορίζοντος τοῖς ἰδίοις δεσπότηις τοῖς αὐτοῖς
 πανευφήμοις ἀνδράσι
 τὴν ἀγωγὴν καὶ ἐν[οχίην, Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ἰ]ερημίας ἀπὸ μειζόνων υἱὸς Προκοπίου
 μητρὸς Εὐδοξίας,
 ὀρμώμενος ἀπὸ [κτῆματ]ος Παλώσεως τοῦ Ὁξυρυγιτῶν νομοῦ διαφέροντος
 τῇ ὑμῶν
 ὑπερφνεσία, ἐναπόγρ[αφος αὐτ]ῆς γεωργός. ὁμολογῶ ἐκουσία γνώμη καὶ αὐθαιρέτω
 προαιρέσει
 10 ἐπομνύμενος τὸν [θεῖον καὶ] σεβάσμιον ὄρκον ἐγγυᾶσθαι καὶ ἀναδέχεσθαι παρὰ τῇ
 ὑμετέρᾳ
 ὑπερφνεσία διὰ τῶν αὐτῇ προσηκόντων Αὐρηλίους Ἰούλιον ἀδελφὸν ἐμοῦ
 Ἰερημίου καὶ
 Ἐνὸχ πραγματε[υτὴν υἱὸν] Πατασε ὀρμωμένους καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ
 κτῆματος
 κ[αὶ α]ὐτοὺς ἐ[ναπογρά]φους, ὥστε αὐτοὺς ἀδιαλείπτως παραμεῖναι καὶ διάγειν
 ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ
 15 κτῆματι καὶ μη]δαμῶς αὐτοὺς ἀπολειμπάνεσθαι μήτε μὴν μεθίστασθαι εἰς ἕτερον
 τόπον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπι]ζητουμένους πρὸς ἐμέ παρὰ τῆς ὑμῶν ὑπερφνεσίας διὰ τῶν

αὐτῇ προσηκόντ]ων ἐν οἰαδήποτε ἡμέρα, οἰασθηποτοῦν ἔνεκεν προφάσεως, τούτους
 παραφέρω κα]ὶ παραδώσω δίχα προσφυγῆς τινος ἔντα αὐτοὺς παρείληφα,
 ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ τοῦ] ἐνδόξου ὑμῶν οἴκου. εἰ δὲ μὴ τοῦτο ποιήσω, ὁμολογῶ ὑπεύθυνος
 εἶναι πᾶσιν τοῖς] πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐπιζητουμένοι ἀποκρίναςθαι, ὑποθέμενος εἰς τὸ
 δίκαιον
 20 ταύτης τῆς ἐγγύη]ς πάντα μου τὰ ὑπάρχοντα καὶ ὑπάρξοντα ἰδικῶς καὶ γενικῶς
 ἐνεχύρου
 λόγῳ καὶ ὑποθή]κης δικαίῳ[υ]. κυρία ἢ ἐγγύη ἀπλ(ῆ) γραφ(εῖς)α καὶ ἐπερ(ωτηθεῖς)
 ὁμολ(όγησα). (m. 2) Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ἰερημίας
 ἀπὸ μειζόνων υἱ]ὸς Προκοπίου ὁ προγεγραμμένος πεποίημαι τὴν παρούσαν
 ἐγγύην ὡς πρό]κ(εῖται). Παπνούθιος ἔγραψα (ὑπὲρ) αὐτοῦ ἀγραμμ(άτου) ὄντος.
 ✱ *di em(u) Papnutiu eteliotitē*

Back, downwards along the fibres:

25 † ἐγγύη γενομ(ένη) π(αρά) Ἰερημ[ίου
 .ο.[.]ιον.[.]...ηθ[
 1 ευ]σεβ[ς] φλ[ς] κωνσταντ[ς] 2 ὑπατίας; 1. ὑπατείας αυτ]σευσεβ[ς] 3 ωΔ
 4 ὑπερφυστα[τοις 6 ἰδιοις 8, 15, 18 ὑμων 9, 11 ὑπερφυεια 10 ὑμετερα
 11 ἰουλιον ἱερημιου 12 1. Ἐνώχ 14 1. ἀπολιμπάνεσθαι 15 ὑπερφυειας 17 1.
 ἔνθα 18 ὑπευθυνος 19 ὑποθεμενος 20 ὑπαρχοντα ὑπαρξοντα ἰδικως; 1. εἰδικῶς
 21 1. δικαίω ἀπλγραφ[ς] ἐπερωμοχ αυρ[ς] 23 προ]κ ψ αγραμμ[ς] 25 γενομ]ς†

‘In the reign of our most godly and most pious master, greatest benefactor, Flavius Tiberius Constantinus, the eternal Augustus and Imperator, year 5, in the consulship of our same most pious master, year 2, Phamenoth 3, indiction 13.

‘To the most extraordinary heirs of Apion in well-famed memory, the late first *patricius*, landowners here also in this splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, through Menas, *oiketēs*, who puts the formal question and provides for his own masters, the same all-renowned men, the conduct of and responsibility for (the transaction), I, Aurelius Ieremias, former headman, son of Procopius, mother Eudoxia, originating from the holding of Palosis of the Oxyrhynchite nome, belonging to your excellence, a registered farmer of yours. I acknowledge by willing resolve and voluntary choice, swearing the divine and august oath, that I give surety and pledge to your excellence through your subordinates for Aurelius Iulius, a brother of me Ieremias, and Aurelius Enoch, agent, son of Patase, themselves too originating from the same holding, registered (farmers?) too, on condition that they shall continually remain and abide on the same holding, and that they shall on no account leave (this holding) or remove to another place; but if they are required of me by your excellence through your subordinates at any date, for any reason whatsoever, I shall bring them forward and hand them over, without any attempt at flight, in the place where I received them, in the prison of your glorious house. If I do not do this, I acknowledge myself accountable to answer for all that is required of them, having pledged for the legal force of this surety all my belongings present and future, in particular and in general, by way of security and by right of mortgage. This deed of surety, written in a single copy, is binding, and in reply to the formal question I gave my consent. (2nd hand) I, Aurelius Ieremias, former headman, son of Procopius, the aforementioned, have made this surety as aforesaid. I, Papnuthius, have written on his behalf as he is illiterate.

‘Completed through me, Papnutius.’
 Back: ‘Surety made by Ieremias . . .’

1–3 The indiction and consular year point to a date in 580. 27 February 580 falls in the 6th regnal year of Tiberius II, but the scribe referred to Tiberius’ 5th year instead. This is just what we would expect at this date; see *CSBE*² 152 and **4790** 1–6 n.

4 τοῖς ὑπερφνεστά[τοις κ]ληρονόμοις . . . Ἀπίωνος. See **4792** 4–5 n.

4–5 γενομένου πρωτοπατρικίου. See **4792** 6 n.

7 ἀπὸ μειζόνων. This was a former village headman; see **4787** 8 n. Other persons thus described occur exclusively in Oxyrhynchite texts of this date. Apart from **4794**, *μειζόνων* is not abbreviated in XVI **2058** 39; the resolutions *μειζόνων* or *μειζ(όνων)* seem secure in I **132** 1 and VI **893** = M. *Chr.* 93.1, 2, 3, 4. In XIX **2244** fr. 1.3 one should read ἀπὸ μειζ(οτέρων); see *ZPE* 150 (2004) 201. Likewise, in P. Laur. IV 185A.12, one should probably expand ἀπὸ μειζ(οτέρων), not ἀπὸ μειζ(όνων); the other entries in this Oxyrhynchite (see BL X 94) account, assigned to the seventh century, refer to personnel of a large estate, such as *μειζότεροι* were. (NG)

8 [κτῆμα]τος Παλώσεως. This is the name of a well known village (*κώμη*), located in the old Thmoisepho toparchy of the Oxyrhynchite nome, and later part of the eighth *pagus*; see Pruneti, *I centri abitati dell’Ossirinichite* 134–5; Calderini–Daris, *Dizionario* iv 30–1, Suppl. I 217, II 147, III 118. The latest document to call it a *κώμη* is X **1342** (V). It is called a *κτῆμα* also in T. Varie 8.2 (669). It clearly did not have the status of a *κώμη* here, otherwise it would not have been described as *διαφέροντος τῆ ὑμῶν ὑπερφνεστῆς*. Whether the *κώμη* is to be identified with the settlement we have here cannot be confirmed. Apion interests in Palosis are attested in VI **998** and LV **3805** 20, 22, 23, 79 (the juridical status of the settlement is not specified in these texts).

12 *πραγματε[υ]τήν*. This is the first *πραγματευτής* described as *ἐναπόγραφος*. *πραγματευταί* occur in connection with the Apion estate in LV **3805** 121; cf. also CPR X 121.4 (543), which relates to the Heracleopolite part of the same estate. These *πραγματευταί* were probably agents rather than traders; see **3805** 121 n.

Πατασε. Of the putative π a minute trace only. For the name, cf. XVI **2037** 22, 23, where it refers to a *μηχανή*, and **2058** 105.

13 ὥστε. See **4787** 15 and n.

17 *παραφέρω* κα]ὶ *παραδώσω*. *παραφέρω* is restored on the grounds that this form is much more common than *παροίω* in this context (see LXIX **4757** 5 n.; here, cf. **4802** 13), even if the latter is more appropriate in terms of grammar. On the use of *παραφέρειν* and its equivalents, see CPR XXII 4.14–16 n.

αὐτοὺς παρείληφα. We should expect *αὐτοὺς καὶ παρείληφα*; cf. **4802** 14.

18 ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ τοῦ] ἐνδόξου ὑμῶν οἴκου. On the prisons mentioned in deeds of surety, see CPR XXII 4.17–18 n. with references.

19–21 ὑποθέμενος εἰς τὸ δίκαιον κτλ. Similar clauses occur in XIX **2239** 21–3 (551) and XLIV **3204** 24–6 (588), on which the restorations here are based. Cf. also LI **3641** 19–21 (544) and I **125** 21–2 (560).

Unlike the guarantors who pledge their properties for the fulfilment of the terms of the deed in **2238** and **3204**, Ieremias is an *ἐναπόγραφος γεωργός*. Some of the *ἐναπόγραφοι* mentioned in deeds of surety possessed livestock, but the wording here suggests that Ieremias may have owned land, and that he could possibly acquire more land in the future. This may come as a surprise if we identify the Egyptian *ἐναπόγραφοι* with landless agricultural workers, but sixth-century legislation makes it clear that some *adscripticii* owned land; cf. *Nov. Just.* 128.14 εἰ συμβαίη γεωργός τινι προσήκοντα ἢ ἐναπογράφους ἰδίαν ἔχειν κτῆσιν; also *Nov. Just.* 164.2 (cited above, **4790** 27 n.) and *CJ* XI 48.20, and for comment J.-M. Carrié, *Orpus* 2 (1983) 230. The clause *κινδύνω τῶν ἐμοῖ/ἡμῶν ὑπαρχόντων ὑποκειμένων*

εἰς τοῦτο, which occurs in a number of documents referring to ἐναπόγραφοι (LXIII **4398** 29 (553), LXII **4350** 15 (576), P. Iand. III 48.22-3 (582), P. Amh. II 150.30-1 (592), LXVI **4535** 32-4 (600); cf. also XVI **1896** 23 (577)), may have similar implications; cf. A. C. Johnson, L. C. West, *Byzantine Egypt: Economic Studies* (1949) 30-1. (NG)

23 One Papnuthius, apparently the same as the notary, has signed on behalf of illiterates in several documents of this period; see LXVI **4635** 39 n. (to the list add now **4794**, **4798**, **4799**).

24 On the notary Papnuthius, see Diethart and Worp, *Notarsunterschriften* 83-4, and LXVI **4635** 41 n. Cf. also **4798**, **4799**.

25-6 After Ἱερημ[ίου], the text presumably continued ἀπὸ μειζόνων υἱοῦ Προκοπίου ἀπὸ κτήμ(ατος) Παλώεως ἀναδεχομένου κτλ. At the start of 26, one may consider reading Ἰού[λιον], but what comes after that is not clear.

A. SYRKOU

4795. TOP OF DOCUMENT

54 1B.25(B)/B(4)c

9.7 × 7.8 cm

25 November 582

The top of a document of unknown nature, addressed to the heirs of Apion II. It is published for the unusual nomenclature of the emperors, which makes it an *unicum* among Oxyrhynchite documents of this period; see below, 1-6 n.

There appears to be a sheet-join running along the right-hand edge (opposite lines 5 ff.). The back is blank as far as it is preserved.

† βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτ[άτου] κ[α]ἰ ε[ἰ]ς[εβ(εστάτου)] ἡμῶν δεσ-
 πότου μεγίστου εὐερ[γέτου] Φλ(αουῖου) Μα[υρικ]ίου Νέ[ου]
 Τιβερίου τοῦ αἰωνίου] Ἀὐγ[ο]ύστου καὶ [Ἀὐτοκ]ράτορο[ς]
 ἔτους \bar{a} , μετὰ τὴν ὑπ[α]τ[ε]ίαν τοῦ τῆς <θείας> λήξε[ως] γενομέν[ου]
 5 ἡμῶν δεσπ[ό]το[υ] Φλ(αουῖου) Τιβερίου Νέου Κωνσταντίνου
 τ]ὸ $\bar{\delta}$, Ἰθὺρ κ $\bar{\theta}$, ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) \bar{a} .
 τοῖς ὑπερ]φυστάτοι[ς] κληρονόμοις [τοῦ] τῆς
 εὐκλεοῦς] μνήμ[ης] Ἀπ[ι]ωνος γενομέν[ου] πρωτ]οπατρικ[ί]ου
 γεουχοῦς καὶ] ἐ[ν]ταῦθα] τῆ [λαμπρᾶ] Ὀξυρυχιτῶν

2, 5 φλς

4 1. ὑπατεῖαν

6 ἰνδ

'In the reign of our most godly and most pious master, greatest benefactor, Flavius Mauricius Novus Tiberius, the eternal Augustus and Imperator, year 1, after the consulship of our former master Flavius Tiberius Novus Constantinus of (divine) decease for the 4th time, Hathyr 29, indiction 1.

'To the most extraordinary heirs of Apion of well-famed memory, former first *patricius*, land-owners here also in the splendid (city) of the Oxyrhynchites . . .'

1-6 For the formulas and regnal year, cf. XVI **1976**, also from the Apion archive, which dates from 23 November 582, two days earlier than **4795**. **1976** however has the names of the emperors

in the order usual at that time: Fl. Tiberius Mauricius and Tiberius Constantinus. The sequence *Μαυρίκιος Νέος Τιβέριος* otherwise makes its first appearance in Oxyrhynchus in 590 (SB VI 9561.3), though we find it in Hermopolis as early as 583 (SB XVI 12866.1-2); see *CSBE*² 265. This singularity is matched by the name of the deceased emperor, *Τιβέριος Νέος Κωνσταντίνος*, which is not attested in any other Oxyrhynchite document, though it is common elsewhere in Egypt; see *CSBE*² 259. The use of the *gentilicium* Flavius for the deceased emperor is also new for Oxyrhynchus.

The omission of the word *θείας* in 4 seems to suggest that this is the product of an inexperienced scribe, which may account for all other oddities. It might also be relevant that this is only the second earliest (after 1976) dating by Mauricius in Egypt.

Apart from the emperors' names, the rest of the formula is the typical one for Oxyrhynchus in the early years of Mauricius' reign (regnal formula of Mauricius + postconsular formula of Tiberius II, with the postconsular year number being 'one too high'); see *CSBE*² 95, 212, 258. For the conversion of the date, see *CSBE*² 153, 160.

4 ὑπ]α[τεί]αν. ὑπατίαν is what one expects to find in a text of this period, but there is enough room in the break to allow restoring [τεί].

7-9 τοῖς ὑπερ]φνεστάτοις κληρονόμοις κτλ. See 4792 4-5 n.

N. GONIS

4796. RECEIPT FOR REPLACEMENT PART(S) OF AN IRRIGATOR

54 1B.26(E)/B(1)a

14.8 × 13.2 cm

8 October 583

The upper part of a document addressed to the heirs of Apion II by an *ἐναπόγραφος γεωργός*. What has survived of the docket identifies it as a *χειρογραφία*, most probably a receipt for replacement parts of irrigation machinery; see above, 4783 8 n.

The text is of interest for offering the latest instance of the earlier way of reference to the heirs of Apion II, viz. *κληρονόμοι* and *ἄνδρες*; see below, 5-9 n.

- 1 † βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ εὐσεβ[ι]((εστάτου)] ἡμῶν δεσπότηου
 <μεγίστου εὐεργέτου Φλαουίου Τιβερίου Μαυρικίου>
- 2 το[ῦ] αἰωνίου[ν] Αὐγο[ύ]του κα[ὶ] Αὐτο]κρ(άτορος) ἔτους β̄, μετὰ τῆ[ν]
 ὑπατίαν τοῦ τῆς θείας λήξ[ε]ως γενομένου[ν] ἡμῶν δεσπ(ότου)
 Τιβερίου Κωνσταντίνου, Φαῶφι ι, ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) β̄//.
- 5 τοῖς ὑ[περ]φνεστάτοις κληρονόμο[ι]ς τοῦ {τῆς} ἐν εὐκλειῇ τῆ
 μνήμῃ Ἀπίωνος [γεν]ομένου πατρικίου γε[ου]χοῦσιν καὶ
 ἐν[τ]αῦθα τῆ λ[α]μπρ[ᾶ] Ὀξυρρυγ[χι]τῶν πόλε[ι] διὰ Μηνα οἰκέτ[ο]ν
 τοῦ ἐπερωτῶντος καὶ προσπορίζοντος τοῖς ἰδίῳις δεσπότηαι
 τοῖς αὐτοῖς πανευφήμοις ἀνδράσιν τὴν ἀγωγὴν καὶ
- 10 ἐνοχὴν, Αὐρήλιος Ὀννωφρις υἱὸς Φοιβάμμωνος
 μητρὸς Θερμουθίης ὀρμώμενος ἀπὸ ἐποικίου Νήσου Λευκαδίου

κτῆματος τῆς ὑμῶν [ὑπ]ερφ[υ]ε[ί]ας [τ]ο[ῦ] Ὁξυρυ[γ]χίτ[ου] νομ[ο]ῦ,
 ἐνα[πόγραφος αὐ]τῆς [γεωργός, χαίρειν. χρείας κα]ί [

Back, downward, along the fibres:

† χερογραφ(ία) γεναμ(ένη) π(αρά) Ὀνν[ωφρίου υἱοῦ Φοιβάμμωνος ἀπὸ
 ἐποικ(ίου) Νήσου Λευκαδίου - - -

2 [αυτο]κρ 3 ὑπατιαν; 1. ὑπατείαν δεσπς 4 ἴνΔ 8 ἴδιοις 10 υἱός
 12 ὑμων 14 χερογραφγεναμς

‘In the reign of our most godly and most pious master, (greatest benefactor, Flavius Tiberius Mauricius,) the eternal Augustus and Imperator, year 2, after the consulship of our former master Tiberius Constantinus of divine decease, Phaophi 10, indiction 2.

‘To the most extraordinary heirs of Apion in well-famed memory, former *patricius*, landowners here also in the splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, through Menas, *oiketes*, who puts the formal question and provides for his own masters, the same all-renowned men, the conduct of and the responsibility for (the transaction), I, Aurelius Onnophris, son of Phoebammon, mother Thermuthië, originating from the hamlet of Nesos Leucadiu, a holding of your excellence, of the Oxyrhynchite nome, a registered farmer of yours, greeting.

‘(Since now) too a need . . .’

Back: ‘Cheirograph made by Onnophris, son of Phoebammon, from the hamlet of Nesos Leucadiu, . . .’

1-4 The dating clause differs from others in omitting a part that includes the name of the emperor, as well as the consular year of the deceased Tiberius II. Both omissions are certainly due to oversight. For the standard clause, see *CSBE*² 212, 258; cf. **4795** 1-6. For the conversion of the date, see *CSBE*² 153, 159.

5-9 τοῖς ὑ[περ]φνεστάτοις κληρονόμο[ι]ς . . . ἀνδράων. See **4792** 4-5 n. This now becomes the latest attestation of this mode of reference to the heirs of Apion II, taking the place of I **136** = *W. Chr.* 383 (24 May 583). By 11 January 584 (I **137**) the term κληρονόμοι had been replaced by διαδόχοι. For this and other later developments, see **4798** 4 n.

10 Ὀννωφρις. For the accentuation, cf. above, **4760** fr. 1.2 n. For the form of the genitive, see below, 14 n.

11 Νήσου Λευκαδίου. A settlement known exclusively from (numerous) documents of the Apion estate; see Mazza, *L'archivio degli Apioni* 183 (to the references add P. Princ. II 88; see Hickey, *A Public 'House' but Closed* 270). It probably lay in the southern part of the Oxyrhynchite nome (Upper toparchy); see LV **3804** introd. p. 97.

13 κα]ί. The putative ι, read under the influence of the implications of the docket (see introd.), is a tall upright.

14 Ὀνν[ωφρίου]. The genitive endings in the earlier period were -εως and -ιος (cf. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 78-9), but in late antiquity we find Ὀννωφρίου, from nominative Ὀννώφριος (cf. Gignac, op. cit. 25), though the latter form is not common at that time. We find nom. Ὀννωφρις, gen. Ὀννωφρίου, in two Oxyrhynchite texts of this date, SB VI 9561.14, 28, 35 (590), and PSI III 179.13 and 19 (602; see BL X 236). (In P. Wash. Univ. II 90 vi 13 (I), read Ὀννώ(φρεως) or Ὀννώ(φριος), not Ὀννω(φρίου).)

4797. RECEIPT FOR AN AXLE

54 I.B.25(B)/C(3)b

14.7 × 20.7 cm

8 October 583
Plate XIV

The lower part (the date clause and prescript are lost, but we have the main body) of a receipt for an axle, presumably addressed to the heirs of Apion II. It is of interest for attesting a woman who not only is described as an *ἐναπόγραφος γεωργός*, but who had an irrigated farm (*μηχανή*) under her charge. We encounter the same situation in **4801** (617). A woman *ἐναπόγραφος* had already been attested in P. Wash. Univ. I 25 (530), standing surety for her son, while the wives of most *ἐναπόγραφοι* must have had the same status as their husbands; but no smallholding of the Apions other than those attested in **4797** and **4801** is known to have been placed in the care of a woman. There is generally very little evidence on women leasing (private) land in earlier times; see J. Rowlandson, *Landowners and Tenants in Roman Egypt* (1996) 263–4.

The text was written by the same scribe and on the same day as **4796**. Cf. I **193** and **198** = P. Lond. III 774 (pp. 280–1) and 777 (p. 281), documents of the same kind as **4796–4797**, also written on the same day (II.x.582). There are also several instances of axles issued on the same day or on successive days in the account XIX **2244**.

A sheet-join runs 2.7–3.5 cm from the left-hand edge.

δεσπόταις τοῖς αὐτοῖς πανευφήμοις ἀνδρά]ς[ιν τὴν ἀγωγὴν καὶ
ἐνοχὴν, Αὐρηλ[ί]α [Τα]ρίλλα θυγάτηρ Ἀνδρέου μητρὸς
Νόννας ὀρμωμένη ἀπὸ ἐποικίου Τρυνε κτήματος
τῆς ὑμῶν ὑπερφυείας τοῦ Ὀξυρυγίτου νομοῦ, ἐναπόγραφος
5 αὐτῆς γεωργός, χαίρειν. χρειὰς καὶ νῦν γεναμένης εἰς τὴν
ὑπ' ἐμὲ γεναμένην γεουχικὴν μηχανὴν καλουμένην Τοῦ Νοτίου
Χωρίου ἀντλοῦσαν [εἰ]ς ἀρρόσιμον γῆν αὔξονος ἐνός,
ἀνελθὼν ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως ἠξίωσα τὴν ὑμῶν ὑπερφ(ύειαν)
διὰ τῶν αὐτῆ προσηκόντων ὥστε κελεύσαι παρασχεθῆναι
10 μοι τὸν αὐτὸν αὔξονα. καὶ εὐθέως πρόνοιαν ποιουμένη
τῆς συστάσεως τῶν ἑαυτῆς πραγμάτων τοῦτον ἀγορασθέντα
παρ' ἐμοῦ ἐν ἀγροῖς καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τιμὴν λογισθεΐάν μοι
ἐν τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἐνταγίοις καινὸν ἐπιτήδιον ἀντλητικὸν
εὐάρεστον ἐδεξάμην εἰς ἀναπλήρωσιν πάντων τῶν
15 μηχανικῶν ὀργάνων ἐν τῇ σήμερον ἡμέρᾳ, ἣτις ἐστὶν
Φαῶφι δεκάτῃ τῆς παρούσης δευτέρας ἰνδ(ικτίωνος), ὑδροπαροχίας
καρπῶν τῆς σὺν Θεῷ τρίτης ἐπινεμήσεως. καὶ πρὸς ἀπό-

δειξιν τῆς ὑποδ[οχ]ῆς ταύτην πεποίημαι τὴν χειρογραφ(ίαν), ἥτις κυρία
 οὔσα ἀπλῆ γραφ(εῖσα) [κ]αὶ ἐπερ(ωτηθεῖσα) ὠμολόγησα.† (m. 2) Αὐρηλία Ταρίλλα
 20 ἡ προγεγραμ(μένη) στοιχεῖ μοι ὡς πρόκ(εῖται). Ἀναστάσιος ἔγραψα (ὑπὲρ) αὐτῆς
 ἀγγ(αμμάτου) οὔσης.

✱ *di emu Anastasiu eteleiothē†*

Back, downwards, along the fibres:

† χειρογραφ(ία) Αὐρηλίας Ταρίλλη]ς θ[υ]γατρ(ός) Ἀνδρέου ἀπὸ ἐποικίου Τρυνε
 [α]ῦξονος ἐνόσ

4 ὑμωνῦπερφειας	6 ὑπ	7 1. ἀρόσιμον	7, 22 1. ἄξονος	8 1. ἀνελθοῦσα
ὑμωνῦπερφ	10 1. ἄξονα	13 1. ἐπιτήθειον	16 ιαῦδροπαροχιας	18 χειρογραφ
19 γραφ επερ	20 προγεγραμς	προκ ψ	αγρ	22 θυγατρ

‘... masters, the same all-renowned men, the conduct of and the responsibility for (the transaction), I, Aurelia Tarilla, daughter of Andreas, mother Nonna, originating from the hamlet of Tryne, a holding of your excellence, of the Oxyrhynchite nome, a registered farmer of yours, greeting.

‘Since now too a need for one axle has arisen in the estate irrigator formerly in my charge called “Of the Southern Plantation”, which waters arable land, I went up to the city and asked your excellence through your subordinates to order that the same axle be provided to me. And immediately (your excellence) showing regard for the state of your affairs (provided) it (to me), bought by me in the fields, its price put down to my account; a new (axle), serviceable, suitable for irrigation, satisfactory, I received as completion of all the irrigating implements this very day, which is the tenth of Phaophi of the present second indiction, for the irrigation of the crops of the God willing third *epinemesis*. And as evidence for the receipt I have made this cheirograph, which is binding, written in a single copy, and in reply to the formal question I gave my consent. (2nd hand) I, Aurelia Tarilla, the aforementioned—(this cheirograph) is satisfactory to me as aforesaid. I, Anastasius, wrote on her behalf because she is illiterate.

‘Completed through me, Anastasius.’

Back: ‘Cheirograph of Aurelia Tarilla, daughter of Andreas, from the hamlet of Tryne, for one axle.’

1 The line is restored after **4796** 8–9.

2 *Ταρίλλα*. The name also occurs in XLIII **3150** 7 (VI), P. Mert. III 124.2 (520), XVI **1995** 5 (542), LXX **4798** 5 (586), all four from Oxyrhynchus, and the unprovenanced P. Leid. Inst. 68.17 (IV/V). The name *Ἀρί(λ)λα* is better attested, and is likewise mostly, though not exclusively, known from Oxyrhynchite texts: LV **3790** 4 (317/8), LIV **3770** 3 (334), P. Harr. I 65.4 (342), and XVI **2058** 64 (VI) come from Oxyrhynchus, P. Lond. V 1673.129 (VI) is probably of Hermopolite origin (see BL V 59), CPR XIX 57.5 (IV/V) is reportedly Hermopolite but almost certainly Heracleopolite, while P. IFAO II 39.7 (IV/V) is of unknown provenance.

3 *ἐποικίου Τρυνε*. Cf. 22. Probably identical with *Τρηνε*, known from two accounts of the Apion estate, viz. XVIII **2197** 62, 66, and XIX **2244** 40. **2197** 62 n. tentatively identifies it with *Τρηνε* in XVI **2016** 10; a photograph indicates that the papyrus has *Τρηνε*. (The entry in Pruneti, *I centri abitati s.v. TPHEME* should be deleted.) The interchange $\eta > \upsilon$ is not uncommon (see Gignac, *Grammar* i 264–5), but it seems peculiar to Greek words.

6 *ὑπ’ ἐμὲ γεναμένην γεουχικὴν μηχανήν*. This is the first time the participle is used in this

context. If it is to be taken literally, it follows that the *μηχανή* was no longer under Tarilla's care, and the receipt would have had the character of 'setting the record straight'. One may compare the letter XVI 1941 (V), 'requesting a cultivator to resign the tenancy of a field [= *μηχανή*], which had been leased to some one else'. But I would not exclude that *γεναμένην* is only an influence from *γεναμένης* above.

6-7 *μηχανήν καλουμένην Τοῦ Νοτίου Χωρίου*. This is a new name for an irrigated farm, though we already knew of an *ἐποίκιον Νοτίου Χωρίου* in the Apion estate (LVIII 3953 8, 3960 32; probably not the same as the *ἐποίκιον Νοτίου*, also part of this estate; cf. Hickey, *A Public 'House' but Closed* 285). There is no reason to identify it with *Νοτ(ίου) Χωρίου* in P. Theon. 24.7 of 160, or the *χωρ(ίον) Νοτ(ίου)* in SB I 1945.8; there must have been several 'southern plantations (i.e. vineyards)' in Egypt at any time. It is curious that the *μηχανή* is said to irrigate arable and not vine-land, although its name suggests the presence of vineyards; contrast XVI 1988 17-18 (587) *μηχανήν καλουμένην Τῶν Χωρίων | ἀντλοῦσαν εἰς τὰ αὐτὰ χωρία*.

7 *ἀρρόσιμον*, l. *ἀρόσιμον*. The same spelling in XXXVI 2779 11 (530), LXX 4799 14 (586); XVI 1989 14 and 1990 19 (590) have *ἀρρώσιμον*. For this type of gemination, see Gignac, *Grammar* i 154-5, 157.

αὔξονος (l. *ἄξονος*) *ένός*. Cf. 10, 22, 4800 1, 4801 14; see 4800 1 n.

8 *ἀνελθών*, l. *ἀνελθοῦσα*. The presence of a woman in such exercises was rare enough for a scribe to confuse the gender and opt for the usual form.

10 ἡ ὑμῶν ὑπερφύεια has been omitted after *εὐθέως*.

11-13 *τοῦτον ἀγοραθέντα . . . ἐμοῖς ἐνταγίοις*. For the formulas, see 4800 7 n., 7-8 n., 9 n., 9-10 n.

16 For the conversion of the date to 8 October 586, see *CSBE*² 153, 159.

20-21 On the notary Anastasius, who often wrote on behalf of illiterates, see LXIX 4757 12-13 n.

22 *Ταρίλλη]ς*. Or *Ταρίλλα]ς*, as in 4798 5.

N. GONIS

4798. RECEIPT FOR A COGWHEEL

53 IB.26(F)/B(4)a

15.3 × 26.6 cm

26(?) September 586

A receipt for a replacement cogwheel, issued to an *ἐναπόγραφος γεωργός*. The papyrus is complete except for the loss of the top, which took away the date clause and the beginning of the prescript. It is very similar to 4799, which dates from about three weeks later; their close inventory numbers indicate that the two papyri must have been filed and later disposed of together.

The text is chiefly of interest for offering the earliest instance of a term applied to the 'successors' of Apion II; see below, 4 n. It may also be worth noting that 4798 and 4799 are the only documents in the Apion archive firmly dated to 586.

· · · · ·
 Ἄ]πίω[νος γενομένου πρ]ωτοπατρ[ικίου γεουχοῦς]ιν καὶ [ἐνταῦθα
 τῆ] λαμ[π]ρῆ [Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν] πό]λει, διὰ Μηνᾶ οἰ[κέτου] τοῦ ἐπερωποντος
 καὶ προσπορίζοντος τοῖς ἰδίοις δεσπόταις τοῖς αὐτοῖς πανευφύμοις

5 προςώπο[ις] τὴν ἀγωγὴν καὶ ἐνοχὴν, [A]ὕρηλιος Ἀπολλῶς υἱὸς
 Πασωείου μ[η]τρὸς(ς) Ταρίλλας, ὀρμώμ(ενος) [ἀ]πὸ ἐποικίου Κολοσσοῦ
 τοῦ Ὁξυρυγχ(ίτου) νομοῦ διαφέροντος τῇ ὑμετέρα ὑπερφυεῖα,
 ἐναπόγραφος αὐτῆς γεωργός, χαίρειν. χρεῖας καὶ νῦν
 γεναμένης εἰς τὴν ὑπ' ἐμὲ γεουχικὴν μηχανὴν καλουμένην)
 Παρνατης ἀντλοῦσαν εἰς ἀρόσιμον γῆν μεγάλου ἐργάτου
 10 ἐνός, ἀνελθὼν ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως ἡξίωσα τὴν ὑμῶν
 ὑπερφύειαν ὥστε κελεῦσαί μοι τὸν αὐτὸν μέγαν
 ἐργάτην παρασχεθῆναι. καὶ εὐθέως ἢ ὑμετέρα ὑπερφ(ύεια)
 πρόνοιαν ποιουμένη(ν) τῆς συστάσεως τῶν ἐαυτῆς
 πρα[γμά(των) τοῦτον παρέσχετό μοι διὰ (vac.) τοῦ
 15 ἐν[τ]αῦθα μηχανουργοῦ· καινὸν ἐπιτήδιον ἀντλητικὸν
 εὐάρεστον ἐδεξάμην εἰς ἀναπλήρωσιν πάντων τῶν
 μηχαν[ικῶν] ὀργάνων ἐν [τ]ῇ [ς]ῆμερον ἡμέρα, ἥτ[ις ἐς]τὴν
 Θῶθ κθ [τῆ]ς παρούσης πέμπτη[ς ἐν]δ(ικτίωνος), ὑδροπαροχία[ς] κ[α]ρ[π]ῶν τῆ[ς]
 20 κὺν Θ(εῶ) ἕκτης ἐπινεμ(ήσεως). καὶ πρὸς ἀπόδειξ(ιν) τῆς ὑποδοχ(ῆς) ταύτην
 πεποίημαι τὴν χειρογραφ(ίαν), ἥτις κυρ(ία) οὐσα ἀπλ(ῆ) γραφ(εῖσα) {ἥτις κυρ(ία) οὐσα
 ἀπλ(ῆ) γραφ(εῖσα)} καὶ ἐπερωτηθεῖς ὠμολόγησα. † (m. 2) Αὕρηλιος Ἀπολλῶς
 υἱὸς Πασωείου
 στοιχεῖ μοι ὡς πρόκ(εῖται). Παπνούθιος ἔγραψα (ὑπὲρ) αὐτοῦ ἀγραμμά(του)
 ὄντος. † (m. 3) † γίνε(ται) ἐργάτης μέγας εἰς μό(νος).

(m. 2) ✱ *di emu Papnutiu (etelioth)h*

Back, downwards along the fibres:

25 † χειρογρα]φ(ία) Ἀπολλῶ υἱοῦ Πασωείου ἀπὸ ἐποικ(ίου) Κολοσσοῦ ὑποδοχ(ῆς)
 μεγάλου ἐ[ργ]άτου ἐνός†

2	1. ἐπερωτῶντος	3	ἴδιοις	1.	πανευφήμοις	4	υἱός	5	ορμώμς	6	οξυρυγχς
ὑμετεραῦπερφυεῖα		8	ὑπ	καλουμῖς		10	ὑμῶν	11	ὑπερφυεῖαν	12	ὑμετεραυ- περφ
	13	ποιουμῖς		14	πρα]γμῖς		15	1. ἐπιτήδειον	18	ιν]δῦδροπαροχία[ς]	
19	κὺν	επινεμς	αποδειξ	υποδοχς		20	χειρογραφ	κυρ	απχγραφ	κυρ	
21	απχγραφ	επερωμοχ	αυρ	υἱος		22	προκ	υ	αγραμμῖς	23	γε
25	εποικ	υποδοχς								μ//	

‘. . . of Apion, former first *patricius*, landowners here also in the splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, through Menas, *oiketes*, who puts the formal question and provides for his own masters, the same all-renowned persons, the conduct of and the responsibility for (the transaction), I, Aurelius Apollon, son of Pasoei(u)s, mother Tarilla, originating from the hamlet of Colossus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, belonging to your excellence, a registered farmer of yours, greeting.

‘Since now too a need has arisen for one large cogwheel in the estate irrigator in my charge, called “Parnates”, supplying water to arable land, I went up to the city and asked your excellence to order the same large cogwheel to be provided to me. And immediately your excellence, having regard

to the state of your affairs, gave this to me through ⟨ ⟩ the mechanic here; a new (cogwheel), serviceable, suitable for irrigation, satisfactory. I received this as completion of all the irrigating implements this very day, which is Thoth 29(?) of the present fifth indiction, for the water supply of the crops of the God willing sixth *epinemesis*. And as evidence for the receipt I have made this cheirograph, which is binding, written in a single copy, and in reply to the formal question I gave my consent.’ (2nd hand) ‘I, Aurelius Apollos, son of Pasoci(u)s—this satisfies me as aforesaid. I, Papnuthius, have written on his behalf as he is illiterate.’

(3rd hand) ‘Total one large cogwheel only.

‘Completed through me, Papnuthius.’

Back: ‘Cheirograph of Apollos, son of Pasoci(u)s, from the hamlet of Colossus, for the receipt of one large cogwheel.’

4 *προσώποις*. The consortium of the heirs of Apion II were initially called *κληρονόμοι*, and were referred to as *ἄνδρες* (cf. **4792** 9, **4794** 6, **4796** 9), but by 11 January 584 the term *κληρονόμοι* had been replaced by *διάδοχοι* (I **137**), presently last attested in XVI **1988** of 29 December 587. The *οἰκέτης Μηνάς* is said to act for his masters, ‘the same all-renowned men’ (*ἀνδράσι*) in all texts dating from 579 to 584 (last in VI **996** = SB XVI 12484, of 20 November 584), but later documents referring to Apion’s *διάδοχοι* have *προσώποις* in place of *ἀνδράσι*. **4798** becomes the earliest record for this change; cf. also **4799**, dated a few days later. The significance of this change is not known. One may think that the term *πρόσωπα* was introduced because Apion’s ‘successors’ included both men and women; but we find *ἀνδράσι* in XVI **1989** 8 (3 November 590) and **1990** 12 (12 January 591), addressed to Praiecta and Apion. Still, one may also ask whether the use of this term in these two texts is due to the fact that Praiecta and Apion are addressed as *κληρονόμοις*, a term always coupled with *ἀνδράσι*; a possible use of old scribal models may have also played a role.

5 *Πασωείου*. Presumably a by-form of (*Π*)*άσοε(ι)ς*, gen. (*Π*)*ασό(ε)ιτος*; for the declension, cf. XVI **2037** 31 *Ασσειον*.

Ταρίλλας. See **4797** 2 n.

ἐποικίου Κολοσσού. This hamlet was known from XVI **2032** 29 and 30, an account of the Apion estate. A photograph indicates that the scepticism expressed over the readings of *ed. pr.* in Pruneti, *I centri abitati* 88 (= BL VIII 253), is excessive. Pruneti, *ibid.*, suggests an identification with the settlement called *Κολοξου*, known from XIX **2244** 55.

8–9 *μηχανήν καλουμένην Παρνατης*. This *μηχανή* is new. A toponym (*γήδια*) *Παρνατης* is attested in documents from Aphrodito (P. Lond. IV 1419.1110; 1478), while a personal name *Παρνατης/-εσ* occurs in texts also from Aphrodito (P. Lond. IV 1552.8; P. Ross. Georg. IV 21.16), as well as from the Fayum (SPP XX 266.3—the text is reportedly of unknown provenance, but the names point to this area).

14–15 *διὰ (vac.) τοῦ ἐν[τ]αῦθα μηχανουργοῦ*. Cf. **4799** 19. The same expression is found in XVI **1987** 21, P. Select. 20.13–14, and PSI I 60.20–1 (with T. M. Hickey, *Tyche* 14 (1999) 326); cf. also XVI **1986** = SB XII 11231.11–12 (549). The earlier XVI **1899** 15–16 (476) has *τέκτονος* instead of *μηχανουργοῦ*.

In the space left blank there are some flecks of ink that might suggest that the engineer’s name was washed off; but it is also possible that the space was left blank for the name to be added later. Something similar may be observed in XVI **1982** 16 (497).

A *μηχανουργός* was a carpenter making irrigation machines (XXVII **2480** 45 and LV **3805** 102, 106 refer to *τέκτοσι μηχανουργοῖς*). See generally S. Daris, *ZPE* 85 (1991) 272–3; Bonneau, *Le Régime administratif de l’eau du Nil* 225; Mazza, *L’archivio degli Apioni* 148–9. In the Apion estate there were at least two *μηχανουργοί* at a time; cf. XVI **1970** (554).

18 κθ. What remains of the putative θ is the lower part of its left-hand curve and the left-hand extremity of its elongated crossbar; if the latter is illusory, then ξ is the next most likely reading.

For the conversion of the date to 26(?) September 586, see *CSBE*² 153, 159.

23 γί(νεται) ἐργάτης μέγας εἰς μό(νος). See **4788** 31 n.

24 For the notary Papnuthius, see **4794** 24 n. Here we have a shorter version of his signature, with *eteliothh* abbreviated; compare PSI VII 786.25, XVI **1898** 35, **1993** 41 (= *Byz. Not.* Oxy. 16.2.2, 6, 8); for another type of abbreviation, see LXVI **4535** 41 n.

N. GONIS

4799. RECEIPT FOR A COGWHEEL

53 1B.26(F)/B(2)a

18 × 27.5 cm

5 October 586

Aurelius Phoebammon, an ἐναπόγραφος γεωργός in the estate of the ‘successors’ of Fl. Apion II, acknowledges receipt of a cogwheel for an irrigation machine in his charge. The text was written about three weeks later than **4798**.

† βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ εὐσεβ(εστάτου) ἡμῶν δεσπότης μεγίστο[υ
 εὐερ[γέ]του Φλ[α]ουῖο[υ] Τιβερίου Μαυρικίου τ[ο]ῦ αἰωνίου [Α]ὐγοῦ[στ]ο[υ]
 καὶ [Αὐτοκράτορος ἔ]τους ἕ , ὑπατ[ία]ς [τοῦ αὐτοῦ] εὐσεβ(εστάτου) ἡ[μῶν δε]σπότης
 ἔτους δ̄, Φ[αῶφι] ἡ, ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ἕ.

5 τοῖς [ὑπερφυστάτο]ις διαδόχο[ις τοῦ τῆς εὐ]κλεοῦς μ[ν]ήμη[ς]
 Ἀπίω[νος γεουχο]ῦσιν καὶ ἐνταῦ[θα τῆ λα]μπρᾶ Ὀξυρ[υ]χιτῶν
 πόλει [διὰ Μηνᾶ οἰ]κέτου τοῦ ἐπερ[ωτῶντος] καὶ προσπορ[ίζον]τος
 τοῖς ἰ[δί]οις δεσπότη[ι]ς τοῖς αὐτοῖς π[ανευφή]μοις προσώπ[οις τῆ]ν ἀγωγὴν
 καὶ [ἐνοχῆν, Αὐρή]λιος Φοιβάμμ[ων υἱὸς Τ]ουαντζοκλα μ[η]τρὸς Ταος,
 10 ὀρμώμ[ενος ἀ]πὸ ἐποικίου Κυτ[αλί]τιδος τοῦ Ὀξυρυχίτου νομοῦ
 διαφέρ[οντος τ]ῆ ὑμετέρα ὑπερφυεία, ἐναπόγραφος αὐτῆς
 γεωργός, χαίρειν. χρειᾶς καὶ νῦν γεναμένης εἰς τὴν ὑπ’ ἐμέ
 γεουχικὴν μηχανὴν καλουμένην Τῶν Τεκτόνων ἀντλοῦσαν
 εἰς ἄμπελον καὶ εἰς ἀρρόσιμον γῆν μεγάλου ἐργάτου ἐνός,
 15 ἀνελθὼν ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως ἠξείωσα τὴν ὑμῶν ὑπερφύειαν
 ὥστε κελεῦσαί μοι τὸν αὐτὸν μέγαν ἐργάτην πα(ρα)σχεθῆναι.
 καὶ εὐθέως ἡ ὑμετέρα ὑπερφύεια πρόνοιαν ποιουμένη
 τῆς συστάσεως τῶν ἐαυτῆς πραγμάτων τοῦτον παρέσχετό μοι
 διὰ Ζαχαρίου τοῦ ἐνταῦθα μηχανουργοῦ· καινὸν ἐπιτήδιον
 20 ἀντλητικὸν εὐάρεστον ἐδεξάμην εἰς ἀναπλήρωσιν πάντων
 τῶν μηχανικῶν ὀργάνων ἐν τῇ σήμερον ἡμέρα, ἥτις ἐστὶν
 Φαῶφι ἡ τῆς παρούσης πέμπτης ἰνδ(ικτίωνος), ὑδροπαροχίας
 καρπῶν τῆς σὺν Θεῷ ἔκτης ἐπινεμήσεως. καὶ πρὸς
 ἀποδείξειν τῆς ὑποδοχῆς ταύτην πεποίημαι τὴν χειρογραφ(ίαν),

- 25 ἦτις κυρία οὐσα ἀπλῆ γραφείσα καὶ ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὠμολ(όγησα).†
 (m. 2) † Αὐρ(ήλιος) Φοιβάμμων υἱὸς Τουαντκολλα ὁ προγεγρ(αμμένος)
 πεποίημαι ταύτην τὴν χειρογραφ(ίαν) τοῦ με[γά]λου ἐργάτου
 ὡς] πρόκ(εῖται). Παπ[νούθιος ἔγ]ραψα (ὑπέρ) [αὐτοῦ ἀγραμμ(άτου)] ὄντος.
 (m. 3) γί(νεται) μέγ(ας)] ἐ[ρ]γάτ(ης) ἐ[ῖς μ(όνος)]. (m. 2) ✱] d[i] em[u Papnuti]u et[eliiothh]

Back, downwards along the fibres:

- 30 † χ[ειρογραφ(ία) Φοι]βάμμωνος υἱοῦ Τουαντκολλα ἀπὸ ἐποικίου Cκ[υταλίτιδος
 ὑποδοχ(ῆς) μεγάλ[ου ἐργάτου ἐνός

1, 3 ευσεβ)	3 ὑπατ[ια]ς; 1. ὑπατείας	4, 22 ἦνΔ	8 ἰ[διοις	αυτοις:
οι corr. from ω	11, 17 ὑμετεραῦπερφυεια	12 ὑπ	14 1. ἀρόσιμον	15 1.
ἡξίωσα	ὑμωνῦπερφυειαν	ὑπερφυειαν: ν written over tail of λ	18 συστασεως: ν corr.	
from η	19 1. ἐπιτήδειον	22 ὑδροπαροχιας	24 ὑποδοχης	24, 27 χειρογραφῆ
25 ωμοχ	26 αυρς υἱος	προγεγρ	28 προκ ψ	29 ἐ[ρ]γατς
31 ὑποδοχς				30 υἱου

‘In the reign of our most godly and most pious master, greatest benefactor, Flavius Tiberius Mauricius, the eternal Augustus and Imperator, year 5, in the consulship of our same most pious master, year 4, Phaophi 8, indiction 5.

‘To the most extraordinary successors of Apion of well-famed memory, landowners here also in the splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, through Menas, *oiketes*, who puts the formal question and provides for his own masters, the same all-renowned persons, the conduct of and the responsibility for (the transaction), I, Aurelius Phoebammon, son of Tuantcola, mother Taos, originating from the hamlet of Scyталitis of the Oxyrhynchite nome, belonging to your excellence, a registered farmer of yours, greeting.

‘Since now too a need has arisen for one large cogwheel in the estate irrigator in my charge, called “Of the Carpenters”, watering vine-land and arable land, I went up to the city and requested your excellence to order the same large cogwheel to be provided to me. And immediately your excellence, having regard to the state of your affairs, gave this to me through Zacharias, the mechanic here; a new (cogwheel), serviceable, suitable for irrigation, and satisfactory, I received as completion of all the irrigating implements this very day, which is Phaophi 8 of the present fifth indiction, for the water supply of the crops of the God willing sixth *epinemesis*. And as evidence for the receipt I have made this cheirograph, which is binding, written in a single copy, and in reply to the formal question I gave my consent.’ (2nd hand) ‘I, Aurelius Phoebammon, son of Tuantcolla, the aforementioned, have made this cheirograph of the large cogwheel as aforesaid. I, Papnuthius, have written on his behalf as he is illiterate.’

(3rd hand) ‘Total one large cogwheel only.’

(2nd hand) ‘Completed through me, Papnuthius.’

Back: ‘Cheirograph of Phoebammon, son of Tuantcolla, from the hamlet of Scyталitis, for the receipt of a large cogwheel.’

1-4 For the conversion of the date, see *CSBE*² 153, 159; for the formula, see *CSBE*² 260-1.

5-6 διαδόχο[ις . . . Ἀπίωνος, and 8 προσώπ[οις]. See **4798** 4 n.

9 Τ]ουαντκολλα. The name is written with double λ in 26 and 30. It has not been recorded elsewhere, but the name Τουαν is fairly common, especially in the Oxyrhynchite nome, while the names Κολλα and Πκολλα are also attested.

Ταοσ. The name is presumably a form of the common *Ταοῦς* or *Ταῶς*, treated as indeclinable here. It has occurred only in I. Herm. 5.158, 6.160, and SB I 1409, all three times in the genitive (*Τάου*).

10 *ἐποικίου Κυτ[αλί]τιδος*. On this settlement, see Pruneti, *I centri abitati dell'Ossirinichite* 182; Calderini-Daris, *Dizionario* iv 293. It occurs in several papyri of the Apion estate; see Mazza, *L'archivio degli Apioni* 185. It is attested as an *ἐποικίον* already in the fourth century, and was part of the eighth *pagus*; it must have passed into the control of the Apion family in the sixth century. An interesting text is P. Col. XI 303 of 515, in which a *vir clarissimus* who is not known to be a member of the Apion family orders a supply of oil to the monastery (see BL XI 66; A. Papatomas, *ZPE* 128 (1999) 167–8) of this hamlet. For this hamlet as a 'viticultural site', see Hickey, *A Public 'House' but Closed* 279.

13 *μηχανήν καλουμένην Τῶν Τεκτόνων*. A *μηχανή* thus called has not been recorded elsewhere.

19 *Ζαχαρίου . . . μηχανουργού*. Zacharias was previously known from XVI 1987 21 (17.ii.587), where he is said to perform the same task as here. On the function of *μηχανουργοί*, see 4798 14–15 n. 28–9. For Papnuthius, see 4794 23 n., 24 n., 4798 24 n.

29 *γίγνεται μέγ(α)ς*] *ἐ[ρ]γάτ(η)ς ἐ[ἰ]ς μ(ό)νο(ς)*. See 4788 31 n.

A. SYRKOU

4800. RECEIPT FOR AN AXLE

53 IB.26(F)/C(1)a

12.5 × 20 cm

19 November 611?

The lower part of a receipt for an axle, destined for an irrigator in the estate of Apion III (see below, 3 n.). Apollos, son of Ioannes, acknowledges that he has received the needed axle; he had already bought it 'in the fields', and had its price credited to his account with the estate. The invocation, regnal date clause, and prescript are lost. For the date see below, 14–15 n.

ἀν[τ]λοῦς[αν εἰς ἀρόσιμον γῆν αὔξονος ἑνός,
 ἀνεθῶ[ν ἐπὶ τῆ]ς πόλ[εως ἠξίωσα τὴν
 ὑμῶν ὑπερφ(ύειαν) ὥστε κελεῦσαί μοι τὸν
 αὐτὸν αὔξονα παρασχεθῆναι. καὶ
 5 ἐνθῆως ἢ ὑμετέρα ὑπερφ(ύεια) πρόνοιαν
 ποιουμέ(ν)η) τῆς κυστάσεως τῶν ἑαυτῆς
 πραγμάτων τοῦτον ἀγορασθέντα
 παρ' ἐμοῦ ἐν ἀγροῖς καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ
 τιμὴν κατελογίσατό μοι ἐν τοῖς ἐμοῖς
 10 πιττακίοις· καινὸν ἐπιτήδιον
 ἀντλητικὸν εὐάρεστον ἔδεξάμην
 εἰς ἀναπλήρωσιν πάντων τῶν μηχανικ(ῶν)
 ὀργάνων ἐν τῆ[ς]} σήμερον ἡμέρα, ἥτις
 ἐστὶν Ἀθὺρ εἰκάς δευτέρα τῆς παρούς(ης)

- 15 *πεντρεκαδεκάτης ἰνδ(ικτίωνος), ὑδροπαροχίας*
καρπῶ[ν] τῆς σὺν Θ(εῶ) πρώτης ἐπινεμή(σεως).
κυρ(ία) ἢ χειρογρ(αφία) ἀπλ(ῆ) γραφ(εῖσα) καὶ ἐπερ(ωτηθεῖς) ὠμολόγ(ησα).
- (m. 2) Ἐπολλῶς υἱ[ὸ]ς Ἰωάννου στοιχεῖ μοι
 ὡς π[ρ(όκειται)]. Ἰωάννης ἔγρ(αψα) (ὑπέρ) αὐτοῦ ἀγρ(αμμάτου) ὄντος.
- 20 ✱ *di em(u) Ioannu eteliothē*

Back, downwards along the fibres:

traces ὑπο]δ[ο]χ[(ῆς) αὔ]ξονος ἐνόσ†

[1], [21] 1. ἄξονος	3, 5 <i>υπερφ</i>	4 1. ἄξονα	6 ποιουμός	10 1. ἐπιτήδειον
12 μηχανικ	14 παρουςς	15 π̄Δ̄ ὑδροπαροχίας	16 σὺν επινεμῆ	17 κυρ
χειρογραπχγραφῆ	επερωμοχ	19 π[ρ]ῆωαννησεγρψ	αγρ	

‘. . . , which waters arable land, of one axle, I went up to the city and asked your excellence to order the same axle to be provided to me. And immediately your excellence showing regard for the state of your affairs (provided) it (to me), bought by me in the fields, and put down its price to my account; a new (axle), serviceable, suitable for irrigation, satisfactory, I received in completion of all the irrigating implements this very day, which is the twenty-second of Hathyr of the present fifteenth indiction, for the irrigation of the crops of the God willing first *epinemesis*. This cheirograph is binding, written in a single copy, and in reply to the formal question I gave my consent.’ (2nd hand) ‘I, Apollos, son of Ioannes—(this cheirograph) is satisfactory to me as aforesaid. I, Ioannes, wrote on his behalf because he is illiterate.

‘Completed through me, Ioannes.’

Back: ‘. . . for the receipt of one axle.’

1 *εἰς ἀρόσιμον γῆν* has been restored *exempli gratia* on the grounds of space.

αὔξονος (1. ἄξονος) ἐνόσ. Restored on the basis of 4 (*αὔξονα*). For the spelling, see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 229, and LIX 4000 8 n. Cf. 4801 14.

3 *ὑπερφ(ύειαν)*. Cf. 5. The term may suggest that the document comes from the Apion archive, though this is not strictly necessary (see *Tyche* 15 (2000) 98). In this case, however, the origin of the text is virtually certain, since it comes from a layer consisting exclusively of Apion material. In view of the date of the text, the lost prescript will have contained a formula of address to Apion III, on whom see 4801 6 n.

7 *τοῦτον ἀγοραθέντα*. One would expect *τοῦτον παρέσχετό μοι ἀγοραθέντα*, but the omission of the verb is common; cf. I 197 = P. Lond. III (pp. 278–9) 776.14 (552), XVI 1985 16 (543), LXX 4797 11 (583), XVI 1988 23 (587), 1989 17 (590), 1990 24 (591), 1991 28 (601).

7–8 *ἀγοραθέντα . . . ἐν ἀγροῖς*. Cf. 4797 11–12. On this phrase, see Hardy, *The Large Estates of Byzantine Egypt* 128; Bonneau, *Le Régime administratif de l’eau du Nil* 229; *ZPE* 150 (2004) 197.

9 *τιμήν*. For the use of the term in this context, see F. Morelli, *Istituto Papirologico ‘G. Vitelli’, Firenze: Comunicazioni* [2] (1997) 9–10.

9–10 *ἐν τοῖς ἐμοῖς πιττακίοις*. Cf. I 137 19 (584), XVI 1988 25 (587), P. Iand. III 50.3 (VI/VII). Elsewhere we find the equivalent *ἐνταγίοις* (see LVIII 3958 25–6 n.): I 136 = W. Chr. 383.22, 36 (583), LXX 4797 13 (583), XVI 1989 18 (590), 1990 25–6 (591). J. Banaji in A. K. Bowman, E. Rogan (eds.), *Agriculture in Egypt from Pharaonic to Modern Times* (PBA 96: 1999) 211, has suggested that these *ἐντάγια* or *πιττάκια* ‘were employees’ individual accounts with the estate’. A similar view has been associated

with Rémondon, who reportedly spoke of a 'compte-courant'; see Bonncau, *op. cit.* 230 n. 702. But it is difficult to identify these 'accounts' with anything in our documentation, unless they were similar to the *πιττάκια* mentioned and pictured in CPR VII 23 (V/VI), reproduced on Taf. 16.

13 τῆς (l. τῆ) *γήμερον*. The intrusive sigma may be due to assimilation to the following letter.

14–15 Though the regnal date clause is lost, the occurrence of the notary Ioannes, whose activity is attested in documents of the 610s (see below), indicates that Hathyr 22, indiction 15 corresponds to 19 November 611; see *CSBE*² 154, 160.

19 Ioannes who wrote for the illiterate Apollon is most probably to be identified with the notary Ioannes who subscribed this document; the *ductus* of the writing is essentially the same. For texts in which an Ioannes writes on behalf of illiterates, see LXVI 4536 32–6 n. (But in 4536 the writing of the subscription does not look like that in 4800.)

20 On notaries named Ioannes, see Diethart and Worp, *Notarsunterschriften* 81–2, and J. D. Thomas, LXVI 4536 37 n. The notary who signed this document also added his signature to I 139 33, XVI 1981 32, LXVI 4536 37 (all three of 612), PSI I 62.27 (613), XXIV 2420 22 (614), and probably PSI I 52.18 (VII). [In 2420 22 *ed. pr.* prints *di emu Ioann[u etelio]thh*, a reading considered 'unsicher und nicht überzeugend' (*Byz. Not.* 82, no. 9.8.1). The original allows reading *di emu Ioann[u etelio]thh* (the crossbar will have stood in a part now abraded); the *ductus* of *h* is characteristic of this notary. (NG)]

A. SYRKOU

4801. RECEIPT FOR AN AXLE

97/89(a)

15.2 × 20 cm

22(?) October 617
Plate XV

The upper part of a receipt for an axle, addressed to Apion III. Its interest resides in that it attests a woman who is described as an *ἐναπόγραφος γεωργός* and who had an irrigated farm (*μηχανή*) under her care. This is paralleled only from 4797; see the introd. there.

The text is written in the same hand as XVI 1979 (614) and 4802.

† ἐν [ὁ]νόματι τ[ο]ῦ κ(υρίου) κα[ι] δεσπ(ότου) Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ
Θε[ο]ῦ καὶ Ἐπιτοῦ ἡμῶ[ν]. βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτ(άτου)
κα[ι] ἐ[ξ]εβ(εστάτου) ἡμῶν δεσπ(ότου) μεγίστου εὐεργέτου Φλ(αουίου)
Ἡρακλείου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου καὶ Αὐτοκρ(άτορος)
5 ἔτους η, Φαῶφι κε, ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ζ.
Φ[λ(αουίω)] Ἀπ[ί] [ω]νι τ[ὴ] πα[ν]εμφ(ήμω) πατρικ(ίω) γεουχ(οὐν)τ(ι) καὶ
ἐνταῦθα τῆ λαμπρᾶ Ὀξυρυ(γχιτών) πόλει, διὰ Μηνᾶ
οἰκέτου τοῦ ἐπερωτωντος καὶ προσπορίζ(οντος) τῷ ἰδίῳ δεσπ(ότῃ)
τῷ αὐτ(ῷ) πανε[μ]φ(ήμω) ἀνδρὶ τὴν ἀγωγὴν καὶ ἐνοχίην,
10 Αὐρηλία Θερμη θυγάτηρ Ψεῖου μητρὸς Νόννας,
ἀπὸ ἐποικ(ίου) Τροῖλλου τοῦ Ὀξυρυ(γχιτού) νομοῦ διαφέρ(οντος) τῆ
ὑμετέρα ὑπερφ(εῖα), ἐναπόγραφ(ος) αὐτῆς γεωργός, χαίρειν.

χρεί[ας] καὶ νῦν γεναμ(ένης) εἰς τὴν ὑπ' ἐμὲ γεουχικ(ήν)
 μηχ(ανήν) κα]λου[μ(ένην)] . κ . [. .]εραν αὔξονος ἐνός
 15] . .

Back, downwards along the fibres:

† χειρογγ(αφία) Θερμη. . . . Ψεείου ἀπὸ [ἐποικ(ίου) Τροῖλλου ὑποδοχ(ῆς) αὔξονος ἐνός

1 κ̄υ	1, 3 δεσπ ^ν	2 1. βασιλείας	θειοτς	3 ευεβς	φλς	4 αυτοκρ
5 ινΔ	6, 9 πανευφ	6 πατριγεουχ ^ν	7, 11 οξυβ̄	8 επερ	προσποριζ	ιδιω
δεσπ ^ν	11 εποικτροῖλλου	διαφερ	12 ὑμετεραυπ̄ερφenaπογραφ	13 γεναμς	ὑπ	
γεουχικ	14, 16 1. αὔξονος	16 χειρογγ				

‘In the name of the lord and master Jesus Christ, our God and Saviour. In the reign of our most godly and most pious master, greatest benefactor, Flavius Heraclius, the eternal Augustus and Imperator, year 8, Phaophi 25(?), indiction 6.

‘To Flavius Apion, the all-renowned *patricius*, landowner here also in the splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, through Menas, *oiketes*, who puts the formal question and supplies for his own master, the same all-renowned man, the conduct of and responsibility for (the transaction), I, Aurelia Therme, daughter of Pseeius, mother Nonna, from the hamlet of Troilus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, belonging to your excellence, a registered farmer of yours, greeting.

‘Since now too a need for one axle has arisen in the estate irrigator in my charge called . . .’

Back: ‘Cheirograph of Therme (daughter?) of Pseeius, from the hamlet of Troilus, for the receipt of one axle.’

1–2 The *invocatio* belongs to the formula classified as type 1, and is characteristic of documents from the province of Arcadia that date from the reign of Heraclius; see *CSBE*² 100, 103–4, 292.

2–5 For the conversion of the date, see *CSBE*² 155, 159. The regnal formula of Heraclius found here is the standard one in Oxyrhynchite documents; see *CSBE*² 267.

6 Φ[λαουίω] Ἀπ[ί]ω]νι τ[ὴ]ν π[αν]ευφ[ή]μω πατρικ(ίω). This is the so-called Apion III, on whom see Gasco, *T&MByz* 9 (1985) 68–71; Palme, *ZRG* 115 (1998) 307–8; Mazza, *L'archivio degli Apioni* 72–3.

10 Θερμη. Cf. 16. The name is otherwise only known from the Arsinoite SPP VIII 814.1 Θερμηῆν (nom.).

11 ἐποικ(ίου) Τροῖλλου. This toponym is new, but recurs in one other Apion text, currently being prepared for publication. The original form was probably Τρωίλου, though we find Τροῖλου (personal name) in XXIV 2421 12 (IV).

14 . κ . [. .]εραν. This *μηχανή* is new. Before κ and above the broken ε of κα]λου[μ(ένην)], one sees the top of an ascending oblique, resembling the top of ε. The abbreviation system used in the text discourages me from interpreting it as part of the participle or as an abbreviation stroke; in that case, it should be part of the first letter of the name of the *μηχανή*. But if this trace does not belong with what follows, perhaps read Κατ[ωτ]έραν.]εραν may also suggest π]έραν.

After the name of the *μηχανή*, we expect a phrase such as ἀντλοῦσαν εἰς (ἄμπελον καὶ εἰς) ἀρόσιμον γῆν; but this is not present here.

16 Θερμη. . . . Ψεείου. θηχ(ατρός) seems inevitable, but I cannot confirm it on the traces.

4802. DEED OF SURETY

97/28(a)

17.1 × 23.5 cm

Early seventh century

Plate XVI

The lower part of a deed of surety made by two or more persons for two guards. Neither the guarantors nor those under surety are said to be *ἐναπόγραφοι*, which is rare in this type of document. No date has survived, but one in the second decade of the seventh century seems likely. The text is written in the same hand and is signed by the same notary as XVI 1979 (614), another deed of surety (see *JJP* 32 (2002) 29–34). 4801 (617) too is the work of the same scribe.

The references to a *ὑπερφύεια* (3, 6) and to the prison of the ‘glorious house’ indicate that the document comes from the papers of the Apion estate. The *ἐποίκιον* *Κεκούνδου*, *origo* of one of the persons under surety, is not known otherwise.

A sheet-join runs 3.8 cm from the right-hand edge.

c.15 letters] . ω . [. .] traces of c.12 letters

μητρὸς Ἰσιδος ὀρμώμ(ενοι ?) ἀπὸ κώμ(ης) Ἐπισήμου τοῦ Ὄξυρυγχ(ίτου)
νομοῦ παραρχομένης παρὰ τῆς ὑμῶν ὑπερφ(υείας). ὁμολογοῦμ(εν)
ἐκουσία γνώμη κ[αί] αὐθαιρέτω προαιρέσει ἐπωμνύμενοι
5 τὸν θεῖον καὶ σεβά[ς]μιον ὄρκον ἐγγυᾶσθαι καὶ ἀναδέχεσθαι
παρὰ τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ ὑπερφ(υείᾳ) Αὐρηλίους Παμούθιον υἱὸν
Φοιβάμμωνος μητρὸς Μαρίας ἀπὸ ἐποικ(ίου) Κεκούνδου καὶ
Χεκουλ υἱὸν Ἀπολλῶ μητρ[ὸς] Ἡραΐδος ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς
κώμης Ἐπισήμου, φ[ύ]λακας, ἐφ' ᾧτε αὐτοὺς ἀδιαλείπτω^ς
10 παραμεῖναι κ[αί] διάγειν ἐν τοῖς αὐτῶν τόποις καὶ μηδαμῶ^ς
αὐτοὺς ἀπολειμπάνεσθαι μήτε μὴν μεθίστασθαι
εἰς ἕτερον τόπον, ἀλλὰ κ[αί] ἐπιζητουμένους πρὸς ἡμᾶς
παραφέρομεν [καὶ πα]ραδώσομεν δι[χα] λόγου ἔνθα [αὐτ]οὺς
καὶ παρειλήφαμε[ν, ἐν] τῇ φυ[λ]ακῇ τοῦ ἐνδόξου ὑμῶν
15 οἴκου. εἰ δὲ μὴ τοῦτο ποιήσομε[ν, ὁ]μολογοῦμε[ν ὑ]πέυθυνοι
εἶν[α]ι πᾶσιν τοῖς πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐπ[ι]ζητουμένοις ἀποκρίνασθαι.
κυρ(ία) ἡ ἐγγύη ἀπλ(ῆ) γραφ(εῖσα) καὶ ἐπερ(ωτηθέντες) ὠμολ(ογήσαμεν). † τὸ
κου(ὸν) τῶν
προγεγραμμένων) ὀνομα(άτων) στοιχεῖ ἡμῖν αὕτη ἡ ἐγγύη ὡς πρόκ(ειται).
Μάρκος ἔγραψα (ὑπὲρ) αὐτῶν ἀγραμμάτων) ὄντων. †

20 * di em[u] . . . u eteliothh

Back, downwards along the fibres:

traces of one line

Πα]μούθιον καὶ Χεκουλ φύλακας [

2	ορμωμς	κωμς	οξυρρυχς	3	υμῶνὑπερφομολογουμς	4	l. ἐπομνύμενοι
6	υἰεταραυπερφ	6, 8	υἶον	7	εποικ	11	l. ἀπολιμπάνεσθαι
	επερωμοχ	κωμς	18	προγεγρονομς	προκ	19	ψ αγρ

‘. . . mother Isis, originating from the village of Episemu of the Oxyrhynchite nome, administered by your excellence. We acknowledge by willing resolve and voluntary choice, swearing the divine and august oath, that we give surety and pledge to your excellence for Aurelii Pamuthius, son of Phoebammon, mother Maria, from the hamlet of Secundus, and Checul, son of Apollos, mother Herais, from the same village of Episemu, guards, upon condition that they shall remain continuously and abide in their places, and by no means abandon them nor transfer to another place; but if they are required of us we shall bring them forward and hand them over without a letter of safe-conduct in the place where we have also received them, in the prison of your glorious house. But if we do not do this, we acknowledge ourselves accountable to answer for all that is required of them. This deed of surety, written in a single copy, is binding, and in reply to the formal question we gave our assent. We, the collective body of the aforementioned persons—this deed of surety satisfies us as aforesaid. I, Marcus, wrote on their behalf as they are illiterate.

‘Through me . . . the completion was made.’

Back: ‘. . . Pamuthius and Checul, guards . . .’

2 κώμη(ης) Ἐπισήμου. On this village see Pruneti, *I centri abitati dell’Ossirinchite* 47; Calderini–Daris, *Dizionario* ii 153, Suppl. I 108, II 51, III 36. It used to be part of the Upper toparchy, and in the fourth century it was included in the third Oxyrhynchite *pagus*. Several documents of the late sixth and early seventh centuries relate to landholdings of the Apions in its area; see Mazza, *L’archivio degli Apioni* 180.

3 παραρχουμένης παρὰ τῆς ὑμῶν ὑπερφ(υείας). See **4787** 9–10 n.

7 ἐποικ(ίου) Σεκούδου. This locality was not known previously.

8 Χεκουλ. This name has occurred in three other Oxyrhynchite documents of this date (XVI **2019** 11, 12, **2037** 17, **2195** 32), and in the unprovenanced SB XXII 15601.4 (V/VI).

9 φ[ύ]λακας. Cf. XVI **1979** (614), a surety for a guard, and I **199** = P. Lond. III (pp. 279–80) 778 (568), which concerns a field-guard (ἀγροφύλαξ). Guards could easily end up in prison; see *JJP* 32 (2002) 33–4 (n. l. 20).

10 ἐν τοῖς ἀϋτῶν τόποις. This expression occurs here for the first time. It reflects the fact that the persons under surety originate from two different settlements (one from a κώμη, the other from an ἐποίκιον).

13 δι[χ]α λόγου. Cf. PSI I 62.21 (613), XXIV **2420** 16 (614), LVIII **3959** 21 (620), SB XVIII 14006.24 (635), PSI I 52.28 (VII). On the clause, see B. Palme in M. Dreher (ed.), *Das antike Asyl* (2003) 217–29.

17–18 κωμ(όν) τῶν προγεγρ(αμμένων) ὄνομ(άτων). For this expression, see LXVI **4536** 32–3 n.; to the examples given there add LXII **4351** 17.

19 Cf. XVI **1979** 24–5. One Marcus subscribed for an illiterate in LXI **4132** 39–40 (619), but the writing seems different from that in **1979** and here; see **4132** 39 n.

20 The same signaturc is found in **1979** 26. The reading of the notary’s name has given difficulty; see *JJP* 32 (2002) 34 (n. l. 26).

APPENDIX

Below we publish in full seven of the *descripta* in volume XVI that are closely connected with **4780–4802**, documents from the dossier of the ‘Apion family’. The summary editions in XVI included substantial portions of all but one (**1993**) of these texts.

The notes are in the main limited to novelties. The Cairo pieces were autopsied by Hickey during the first half of 1997 (cf. *ZPE* 123 (1998) 161–4).

1985. RECEIPT FOR REPLACEMENT PARTS OF IRRIGATOR

XVI 1985

17 × 30.6 cm

9 October 543

† τοῖς] μετὰ τὴν ὑπατίαν Φλ(αουῖου) Βασιλείου τοῦ λαμπρ(οτάτου), Φαῶφι ια,
ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ζ.

Φλαο]υῖω Ἀπίωνι τῷ ὑπερφυεστάτῳ ὑπάτῳ ὀρδιναρῖω γεουχοῦντι
καὶ ἐντ]αῦθα τῇ λαμπρᾷ Ὀξυρυγ[χι]τῶν πόλει διὰ Μηνᾶ οἰκέτου
το]ῦ ἐπερωτῶντος καὶ προσπορίζοντος τῷ ἰδίῳ δεσπότη τῷ
5 αὐτῷ πανευφήμῳ ἀνδρὶ τὴν ἀγωγὴν καὶ ἐνοχὴν Αὐρήλιος
Παμούθιος φροντιστῆς υἱὸς Ἀνδρέου μητρὸς Σοφίας
ὀρμώμενος ἀπὸ ἐποικί[ο]υ Μικρᾶς Θώλθεως κτήματος
τῆς ὑμετέρας ὑπερφυε[α]ς τοῦ Ὀξυρυγίτου νομοῦ ἐναπόγραφος
γεωργὸς χαίρειν. χρειᾶς κ[αί] νῦν γεναμένης εἰς τὴν ὑπ’ ἐμέ
10 γεουχικὴν μηχανὴν καλουμένην Παρὰ Ποταμὸν ἀντλοῦσαν
εἰς ἀρό[ε]μον γῆν σινοργάνου ἐνὸς καὶ ἰλαστηρίου ἐνὸς
καὶ κυλλῆς κυκλάδος μιᾶς, ἀνελθὼν ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως
ἠξίωσα τὴν ὑμῶν ὑπερφύειαν ὥστ’ ἐκελευσαί μοι παρασχ(εθῆναι)
τὰ αὐτὰ μηχανικὰ σκεύη. καὶ εὐθέως ὁ ὑμῶν ἐνδοξος
15 οἶκος πρόνοιαν ποιούμενος τῆς συστάσεως τῶν ἑαυτοῦ
πραγμάτων ταῦτα κατενεχθέντα μοι ἐν ἀγροῖς ἐκ τῶν
αὐτῆ[ε] ἀκανθεῶν τῶν ὄντων ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ μου κτήματι,
καιν[ὰ] ἐπιτήδια ἀντλητικὰ εὐάρεστα, ἐδεξάμην
εἰς ἀναπλήρωσιν πάντων τῶν μηχανικῶν ὀργάνω[ν]
20 ἐν τῇ σήμερον ἡμέρᾳ, ἣτις ἐστὶν Φαῶφι ἐνδεκάτη
τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους κκ ρπθ τῆς παρούσης ἐβδόμης ἰνδ(ικτίωνος),
ὑδροπαροχίας καρπῶν τῆς σὺν Θεῷ ὀγδόης ἐπινεμ(ήσεως).
καὶ πρὸς ἀπόδ[ε]ξις τῆς ὑποδοχῆς ταύτην πεποιήμαι
τὴν χειρογραφ(ίαν), ἣτις κυρ(ία) οὖσα ἀπλή γραφ(εῖσα) καὶ ἐπερ(ωτηθεῖς) ὠμολόγησα.
25 (m. 2) † Αὐρήλιος Παμούθιος υἱὸς Ἀνδρέου ὁ προγεγραμμένος
πεποιήμαι τήνδε τὴν χειρογραφείαν δεξάμενος

τὰ μηχανικὰ σκεύη σινοργάνου ἐνὸς καὶ ἱλαστηρίου
 ἐνὸς καὶ κυλλῆς κυκλάδος μιᾶς κατὰ τὸν προκείμενον
 τρόπον καὶ συμφωνί (υαc.) μοι πάντα ὡς πρόκειται.
 30 Θεόδωρος υἱὸς τοῦ μακαρίου Φίβ ἀξιωθεὶς ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ
 ἀγραμμάτου ὄντος.
 (m. 3) * di em̄ Iustu upodiaton(ou) etelioth (signs)†

Back, downwards along the fibres:

† χειρογραφ(ία) Παμουθίου υἱοῦ Ἀνδρέου ἀπὸ ἐποικ(ίου) Μικρᾶς Θ]ώλθ[ε]ως ὑποδοχ(ῆς) σινοργ(άνου) ᾠ καὶ
 ἱλαστηρ(ίου)
 ᾠ καὶ κυλλ(ῆς) κυκλάδ(ος) ᾠ//

1 l. ὑπατεῖαν φλς λαμπρς 1, 21 ἰνΔ 2 ὑπερφυστατωῦπατω 4 ἴδιω 8 ὑμετερας-
 ὑπερφυειας 11 ἀρ[ε]μιον: ο corr. from ω? 13 ὑμωνὑπερφυειαν παρασχς 14 ὑμων 18 l.
 ἐπιτήδεια 22 ὑδροπαροχιας ἐπινεμς 24 χειρογραφ κυρ γραφ ἐπερ 26 l. χειρογραφίαν
 29 l. συμφωνεῖ 30 υἱός 33 υποδοχςσινοργς ἱλαστηρ 34 κυλλςκυκλαδς

‘Under the consuls after the consulship of Flavius Basilius, *vir clarissimus*, Phaophi 11, indiction 7.

‘To Flavius Apion, the most extraordinary *consul ordinarius*, landowner here also in the splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, through Menas, *oiketes*, who puts the formal question and supplies for his own master, the same all-renowned man, the conduct of and responsibility for (the transaction), Aurelius Pamuthius, *phrontistes*, son of Andreas, mother Sophia, originating from the hamlet of Small Tholthis of the Oxyrhynchite nome, a holding of your excellence, a registered farmer, greeting.

‘Since now too a need for one *sinorganon* and one *hilastérion* and one potwheel has arisen in the estate irrigator under my charge called “By the River”, which waters arable land, I came up to the city and requested your excellence to order that the same irrigating implements be provided to me. And at once your glorious house showing regard to the state of your affairs (provided me with) these, new, serviceable, suitable for irrigation, satisfactory, brought to me down to the fields from your acacia-trees, situated in the same holding of mine. (These) I received as completion of all the irrigating implements this very day, which is the eleventh of Phaophi of the current year 220/189 of the present seventh indiction, for the irrigation of the crops of the eighth *epinemesis*. And in declaration of the receipt I have made this cheirograph, which is binding, written in a single copy, and in reply to the formal question I gave my assent.’

(2nd hand) ‘I, Aurelius Pamuthius, son of Andreas, the aforewritten, have made this cheirograph after having received the irrigating implements, one *sinorganon* and one *hilastérion* and one potwheel in the aforesaid manner, and everything satisfies me as aforesaid. I, Theodorus, son of the blessed Phib, wrote at his request on his behalf because he is illiterate.’

(3rd hand) ‘Completed through me, Iustus, subdeacon.’

Back: ‘Cheirograph of Pamuthius, son of Andreas, from the hamlet of Small Tholthis, of the receipt of 1 *sinorganon* and 1 *hilastérion* and 1 potwheel.’

11 σινοργάνου . . . ἱλαστηρίου. Cf. 27, 33. Both terms remain obscure. See J. P. Oleson, *Greek and Roman Mechanical Water-Lifting Devices: The History of a Technology* (1984) 161.

17 ἀκανθεών: ἀκανθεών(ων) ed. pr. See F. Morelli, *Tyche* 13 (1998) 167 (= BL XI 157).

ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ μου κτήματι. This is a clear example of the equivalence κτήμα = ἐποίκιον in Oxyrhynchite documents of this date; cf. I 130 17 (548/9), SB XIV 11617.15 (580), XVI 1892 31 (581), etc.

27–8 σινοργάνου ἐνὸς καὶ ἱλαστηρίου ἐνὸς καὶ κυλλῆς κυκλάδος μιᾶς. The translation assumes that the genitives should be interpreted as accusatives, standing in apposition to τὰ μηχανικὰ σκεύη.

32 On the notary Iustus, see LXIII 4397 244–5 n.

1987. RECEIPT FOR A COGWHEEL

P. Cair. Cat. Gen. 10060

13 × 30 cm

18 February 587

† βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ εὐσεβ(εστάτου) ἡμῶν
 δεσπό(του) μεγίστου εὐεργέτου Φλ(αουῖου) Τιβερίου Μαυρικ(ίου) τοῦ
 αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου καὶ Αὐτοκρ(άτορος) ἔτους ε̅, ὑπατίας
 τοῦ αὐτοῦ εὐσεβ(εστάτου) ἡμῶν δεσπό(του) ἔτους δ̅, Μεχεῖρ
 5 $\overline{\kappa\gamma}$, ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ε̅.
 τοῖς ὑπερφυστάτοις διαδόχοις τοῦ τῆς εὐκλεοῦς
 μνήμης Ἀπίωνος γενομένου πρωτοπατρικ(ίου)
 γεουχοῦσιν καὶ ἐνταῦθα τῇ λαμπρᾷ Ὁξυρυχ(ιτῶν)
 πόλει διὰ Μηνᾶ οἰκέτου τοῦ ἐπερωτῶντος
 10 καὶ προσπορίζοντος τοῖς ἰδίοις δεσπόταις τοῖς
 αὐτοῖς πανευφύμοις προσώποις τὴν ἀγωγὴν
 καὶ ἐνοχὴν Φοιβάμμων ἀντέκδικος
 υἱὸς τοῦ μακαρίου Σερήνου ἐξῆς ὑπογράφων
 ἰδία χειρὶ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως χαίρει[ν.
 15 χρείας καὶ νῦν γεναμένης εἰς τὴν ὑπ' [ἐμέ
 γεουχικὴν μηχανὴν καλουμένην Πιτ. . [2-3
 Εὐταρ ἐν τῷ κτήματι Παγγουλεεῖου μεγάλου
 ἐργάτ[ο]υ ἐνόσ, καὶ εὐθέως ἢ ὑμετέρα ὑπερ-
 φύεια πρόνοιαν ποιουμένη τῆς συστάσεως
 20 τῶν ἑαυτῆς πραγμάτων τοῦτον παρ[έ]σχ(ετό)
 μοι διὰ Ζαχαρίου τοῦ ἐνταῦθα μηχαν[ου]ργ(οῦ)
 καινὸν ἐπιτήδιον ἀντλιτικ(όν) εὐάρεστον, ἐδεξάμ(ην)
 εἰ[ς] ἀναπλήρωσιν πάντων τῶν μηχανικ(ῶν) ὀργάν[(ων)
 ἐν τῇ σήμερ(ον) ἡμέρᾳ, ἥτις ἐστὶν Μεχεῖρ $\overline{\kappa\gamma}$ τῆς
 25 παρούσης πέμπτης ἰνδ(ικτίωνος), ὑδροπαροχίας καρπ(ῶν)
 τῆς σὺν Θε(ῶ) ἔκτης ἐπιμεμήσεως· καὶ πρὸς ἀπόδειξ(ιν)
 τῆς ὑποδοχῆς ταύτην πεποίημ(αι) τὴν χειρογραφ(ίαν),
 ἥτις κυρ(ία) οὐσα ἀπλ(ῆ) γραφ(εῖσα) καὶ ἐ[π]ερ(ωτηθεῖς) ὠμολόγησα. †
 (m. 2) † Φοιβάμμων υἱὸς τοῦ μακαρίου
 30 Σερήνου στοιχεῖ μοι αὕτη ἢ χει[ρ]ογραφ(ία)
 ὡς] πρόκ(εῖται). (m. 3) † [γ]![(νεταῖ)] μέγ(ας) ἐργ[(άτης) εἰς] μ(όνος).
 (vac.)

Back, downwards along the fibres:

† χειρογραφ(ία) Φοιβάμμωνος τοῦ αἰδεδίμου ἀντεκδίκ(ου) υἱοῦ τοῦ μακαρίου
(vac.) Σερήνου ἀπὸ τῆς Ὁξυρυγχ(ιτῶν) μεγάλου ἐργάτ[ου] α.

1, 4 εὐσεβς	2, 4 δεσπ ^{ος}	2 φλς	μαυρικ	3 αυτοκρ	ὑπατίας; I. ὑπατείας	5, 25 ἰνΔ
7 πρωτοπατρικ	8, 33 οξυρυγχς	10 ἴδιοις	11 I. πανευφήμοις	13 ὕιος	ὑπογραφῶν	
14 ἴδια	18 ὕμετερα	22 ἀντλιτικ	I. ἐπιτήδειον ἀντλητικόν	εδεξάμς	23 μηχανικ	
24 σημερ	25 ὕδροπαροχιασκαρπς	26 συνθς	αποδειξ	27 ὑποδοχης	πεποιημς	27,
32 χειρογραφ	28 κυρ	ἀπλγραφ	επερ//	29 ὕιος	30 μοε	31 προκ [γ]ε μεγςεργ[ς]
λ*	32 ἀντεκδικ					

‘In the reign of our most godly and most pious master, greatest benefactor, Flavius Tiberius Mauricius, the eternal Augustus and Imperator, year 5, in the consulship of our same most pious master, year 4, Mecheir 23, indiction 5.

‘To the most extraordinary heirs of Apion of well-famed memory, former first patrician, landowners here also in the splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, through Menas, *oiketes*, who puts the formal question and supplies for his own masters, the same all-renowned persons, the conduct of and responsibility for (the transaction), I, Phoebammon, vice-*ekdikos*, son of the blessed Serenus, subscribing below in my own hand, from the same city, greeting.

‘Since now too a need for a large cogwheel has arisen in the estate irrigator under my charge called P— Eutar in the holding of Panguleciu, and immediately your excellence showing regard to the state of your affairs provided this to me through Zacharias, the mechanic here, new, serviceable, suitable for irrigation, and satisfactory, (which) I received as completion of all the irrigating implements this very day, which is Mecheir 23 of the present fifth indiction, for the irrigation of the crops of the, God willing, sixth *epinemesis*. And in declaration for the receipt I have made this cheirograph, which is binding, written in a single copy, and in answer to the formal question I gave my assent.’

(2nd hand) ‘I, Phoebammon, son of the blessed Serenus—this cheirograph satisfies me as aforesaid.’

(3rd hand) ‘Total one large cogwheel only.’

Back: ‘Cheirograph of Phoebammon, the revered vice-*ekdikos*, son of the blessed Serenus, from the city of the Oxyrhynchites, for 1 large cogwheel.’

2–4, 6–13 The lacunae indicated at the ends of the lines in ed. pr. are not there; possibly the right-hand edge was folded at that time.

12 ἀντέκδικος. P. Lond. V 1709.80, a Coptic text from the archive of Dioscorus, offers the only other attestation in the papyri; the office does not appear in Greek literary and ecclesiastical sources. See D. Bonneau, *Pap. Congr. XII* (1970) 55 n. 87.

16 Πιτ. . . [2–3]: Π[.]τε. [.] ed. pr. The remnants do not match the name of any known *μηχανή*.

18 The sequence of clauses is abrupt. This is due to the omission of the clause, ‘I came up to the city and requested for . . .’, which must be due to the fact that Phoebammon comes from Oxyrhynchus.

31 γ]![(νεταί)] μέγ(ας) ἐργ[(ἀτης) εἰς] μ(όνος). For the reading, see 4788 31 n.

The notary’s subscription is lost, but he is likely to have been Pappnuthius; cf. 4792 5–6 n.

1988. RECEIPT FOR AN AXLE

P. Cair. Cat. Gen. 10017

15.8 × 33.7 cm

29 December 587

† βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτο(υ) καὶ εὐσεβε(στάτου) ἡμῶν δεσπό(του)
 μεγίστου εὐεργέτου Φλαουῖου Τιβερίου Μαυρικίου
 τοῦ αἰωνίου Ἀγούστου καὶ Ἀυτοκρά(τορος) ἔτους ̅, ὑπατίας
 τοῦ αὐτοῦ ε[ὐ]σεβε(στάτου) ἡμῶν δεσπό(του) ἔτους ̅, Τῦβι ̅,
 5 ἰ[ν]δικτίωνος ἕκτης.
 τοῖς [ὑπ]ερφυστάτοις διαδόχοις τοῦ τῆς εὐκλεοῦς
 μηνῆς Ἀπίωνος γενομέ(νου) πρωτοπατρικίου
 γεουχοῦσιν καὶ ἐνταῦθα τῇ λαμπρᾷ Ὁξυρυχ(ιτών) πόλει
 διὰ Μηνᾶ οἰκέτου τοῦ ἐπερωτώντος καὶ
 10 προσπορίζοντος τοῖς [ἰ]δίους δεσπόταις τοῖς αὐτοῖς
 πανευφήμοις προσώποι[ς] τὴν ἀγωγὴν καὶ ἐνοχὴν
 Ἀυρήλιος Φοιβάμμων υἱὸς Παπνουθίου μητρὸς
 Μαύρας ὀρμώμενος ἀπὸ ἐποικ(ίου) Νέου τοῦ
 Ὁξυρ[νγ]χίτου νομοῦ διαφέροντος τῇ ὑμετέρα
 15 ὑπερφυεῖα ἐναπόγραφος αὐτῆς γεωργὸς
 χαίρειν. χρείας καὶ νῦν γεναμένης εἰς τὴν ὑπ' ἐμὲ
 γεουχικῆν μηχανὴν καλουμέ(νην) Τῶν Χωρίων
 ἀντλούσαν εἰς τὰ αὐτὰ χωρία αὔξονος ἑνός,
 ἀνελθὼν ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως ἠξίωσα τὴν ὑμῶν
 20 ὑπερφ(ύειαν) ὥστε κελεῦσαί μοι τὸν αὐτὸν αὔξονα
 παρασχεθῆναι· καὶ εὐθέως ἢ ὑμῶν ὑπερφύεια
 πρόνοιαν ποιουμένη τῆς συστάσεως τῶν
 ἑαυτῆς πραγμάτων τοῦτον ἀγοραθέντα παρ' ἐμοῦ
 ἐν ἀγροῖς καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τιμὴν κατελογίσαστό μοι
 25 ἐν τοῖς ἐμοῖς πιττακ[ί]οις καινὸν ἐπιτήδιον ἀντλητικὸν
 εὐάρεστον, ἐδεξάμην εἰς ἀναπλήρωσιν πάντων τῶν
 μηχανικῶν ὀργάνω[ν] ἐν τῇ σήμερον ἡμέρᾳ ἧτις ἐστὶν
 Τῦβι δευτέρα τῆς παρούς[ης ἕκ]της ἰνδικτίωνος, ὑδροπαροχίας
 καρπῶν τῆς σὺν Θ(εῶ) ἐβδό[μης ἐ]πινεμ(ήσεως), τὸν δὲ αὐτὸν αὔξονα
 30 ἐξυπηρετούμενον τοῖς ποτι[σμ]οῖς ἐπὶ] πενταετῇ χρόνον, τὸν δὲ
 παλαιὸν δοθέντα τῷ θυρουρ[ῶ] καὶ] πρὸς ἀπόδειξι(ν) (m. 2) τῆς ὑποδοχ(ῆς)
 ταύτην πεποιήμαι τὴν χει[ρογρα]φ(ίαν), ἧτις κυρ(ία) οὐσα ἀπλ(ῆ) γραφ(εῖσα) καὶ
 ἐπερ(ωτηθεῖς)
 ὠμολ(όγησα). † Ἀυρ(ήλιος) Φοιβάμμων υἱ[ὸς Π]απνουθίου στοιχεῖ μοι αὕτη ἢ
 χειρογραφ(ία)
 ὡς πρόκ(εῖται). Παπνουθίος ἔγραψα (ὑπὲρ) αὐτοῦ ἀγρ(αμμάτου) ὄντος. †
 (m. 3) † γί(νεται) αὔξων εἰς μ(όνος). † † †

Back, downwards along the fibres:

† χειρογραφ(ία) Φοιβάμμωνος υἱοῦ Παπνουθίου ἀπὸ ἐπ[οι]κ(ίου) [N]έ[ου ὑποδοχ(ῆς)
αὔξονος ἐνός.

1	θειοτατ ^ρ	1, 4	ευσεβ ^ς	δεσ ^τ	2	φλαουῖου	3	αυτοκρα	ὑπατίας; 1. ὑπατείας	5,			
28	ἄν ^α	7	γενομ ^ς	8	οξυρυγ ^ς	10	[ἰ]διοικ	12	ὑιος	13, 36	εποικ	14	ὑμε-
	τερα	15, 21	ὑπερφύεια	16	ὑπ	17	γεουχικην	κοιτ.	from γεουχικων?	καλουμ ^ς	18,		
36	1. ἄξονος	19	ὑμων	20	ὑπερ ^φ	1. ἄξονα	24	ὑπερ	25	πιτ'τακ[ι]οικ	1. ἐπιτήδειον		
28	ὑδροπαροχίας	29	κ ^υ ν	ἐπινεμ ^ς	1. ἄξονα	30	ἐξὑπηρετουμενον	31	αποδειξ	31,			
36	ὑποδοχ ^ς	32, 33, 36	χειρογραφ ^ς	32	κυρ	απ ^λ γραφ ^ς	επερ	33	ωμο ^λ	αυρ ^ς	34	προκ	
	εγρ ^ς	αγρ	γ ^ς	μ ^ς	1. ἄξων								

‘In the reign of our most godly and most pious master, greatest benefactor, Flavius Tiberius Mauricius, the eternal Augustus and Emperor, year 6, in the consulship of our same most pious master, year 5, Tybi 2, indiction sixth.

‘To the most extraordinary heirs of Apion of well-famed memory, former first patrician, landowners here also in the splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, through Menas, *oikeles*, who puts the formal question and supplies for his own masters, the same all-renowned persons, the conduct of and responsibility for (the transaction), I, Aurelius Phoebammon, son of Papnuthius, mother Maura, originating from the hamlet of Neou of the Oxyrhynchite nome, belonging to your excellence, a registered farmer of yours, greeting

‘Since now too a need for an axle has arisen in the estate irrigator under my charge called “Of the Plantations”, which waters the same plantations, I came up to the city and asked your excellence to order that the same axle be provided. And immediately your excellence showing regard for the state of your affairs (provided) it (to me), bought by me in the fields, and put down its price to my account, (an axle) new, serviceable, suitable for irrigation, satisfactory, (which) I received as completion of all the irrigating implements this very day, which is the second of Tybi of the present sixth indiction, for the irrigation of the crops of the, God willing, seventh *epinemesis*; the same axle is to serve the purposes of irrigation for a five-year period, while the old one has been given to the door-keeper. And in declaration (2nd hand) for the receipt I have made this cheirograph, which is binding, written in a single copy, and in answer to the formal question I gave my assent.’

‘I, Aurelius Phoebammon, son of Papnuthius—this cheirograph satisfies me as aforesaid. I, Papnuthius, wrote on his behalf because he is illiterate.’

(3rd hand) ‘Total one axle only.’

(2nd hand) ‘Through me, Papnutius, the completion was made.’

Back: ‘Cheirograph of Phoebammon, son of Papnuthius, from the hamlet of Neou, of the receipt of one axle.’

17 μηχανήν καλουμέ(νην) τῶν χωρίων. See also XIX 2244 13, 28, 31, 61, as well as LV 3804 249—the implication being that the name was not unique; cf. 4781 9–10 n., 4788 12 n. Given the meaning of χωρίον (see R. S. Bagnall, *CE* 74 (1999) 329–33), we would expect them to be associated with *sawâqî* (but note 4797 6–7 n.).

30 ἐξὑπηρετούμενον τοῖς ποτι[σμ(οῖς) ἐπι] πενταετῆ χρόνον. Elsewhere only in I 137 23–4 and 4788 19–20, where the terms are seven years; cf. also the estate account XVI 1911 162, 165, 171, and 173 (each seven years). In all of these cases, the γεωργός (or the like) has purchased the axle (as opposed to receiving it from the estate), which may explain the presence of this more precise statement about the axle’s quality. The phrase may therefore also have appeared in P. Iand. III 50 (but is not present in 1989).

31 παλαιόν: πα{ι}λαιόν *ed. pr.* (the excised *i* is the lower part of ξ from the line above).

35 See *Byz. Not.* Oxy. 16.2.8, p. 84 (= BL VIII 252).

36 The reading of the docket is reproduced from *ed. pr.* Only parts of it are legible today.

1989. RECEIPT FOR AN AXLE

P. Cair. Cat. Gen. 10016

17 × 29 cm

3 November 590

]. [

ὑπατίας τοῦ αὐτ(οῦ) εὐσεβ(εστάτου) ἡμῶν δεσπότης ἔτους ἡ, Ἀθῦρ ζ̄,
 ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) θ̄.

† Φλ(αουῖοις) Πραιϊέκτη (καὶ) Ἀπίωνι τῷ αὐτῆς υἱῷ τοῖς ὑπερφυεστάτοις
 5 κληρονόμοις τοῦ {τοῖς} ἐν εὐκλειῇ τῇ μνήμῃ Ἀππίωνος γενομέ(νου)
 πατρικίου γεουχοῦσιν (καὶ) ἐνταῦθα τῇ λαμπρᾷ Ὁξυρυγχ(ιτών) πόλει
 διὰ Μηναῖ οἰκέτου τοῦ ἐπερωτοντος καὶ προσπορίζοντος
 τοῖς ἰδίοις δεσπότηται τοῖς αὐτοῖς πανευφήμοις ἀνδράσιν
 τὴν ἀγωγὴν (καὶ) ἐνωχὴν Αὐρήλιος Ἀρεώτης υἱὸς Μουσαίου
 10 μητρὸς Ταρμουθίης ὀρμώμενος ἀπὸ ἐποικίου Ψεμπεκλη κτήμ(ατος)
 τῆς ἡμῶν ὑπερφυείας τοῦ Ὁξυρυγχ(ίτου) νομοῦ ἐναπόγραφ(ος) αὐτ(ῆς)
 γεωργὸς χαίρειν. χρεῖας καὶ νῦν γεναμένης εἰς τὴν ὑπ' ἐμὲ
 γεουχικὴν μηχανὴν καλουμένην Περσεβουλ ἀντλοῦσαν
 εἰς ἀρρώσιμον γῆν αὐξωνος ἐνός, ἀνελθὼν ἐπὶ τῆς
 15 πόλεως ἡξίωσα τὴν ἡμῶν ὑπερφύειαν διὰ τῶν αὐτῇ
 προσηκόντων ὥστε κελεύσαι παρασχεθῆναί μοι τὸν αὐτὸν
 αὐξωνα. τοῦτον ἀγορασθέντα παρ' ἐμοῦ καὶ τὴν
 ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τιμὴν λογισθεῖσάν μοι ἐν τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἐντακίοις
 καινὸν ἐπιτήδιον ἀντλιτικὸν εὐάρεστον ἐδεξάμην
 20 εἰς ἀναπλήρωσιν τῶν μηχανικῶν ὀργ[ά]νων ἐν τῇ
 σήμερον ἡμέρᾳ, ἣτις ἐστὶν Ἀθῦρ ζ̄ ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) θ̄, ὑδροπαροχείας δὲ
 καρπῶν τῆς σὺν θεῷ δεκάτης ἰνδ(ικτίωνος). καὶ πρὸς [ἀ]πόδειξ(ι) τῆς
 ὑποδοχῆς ταύτην πεποιήμαι τὴν χειρογραφείαν,
 ἣτις κυρ(ία) οὐσα ἀπλ(ῆ) γραφ(εῖσα) (καὶ) ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὡμολόγησα.
 25 (m. 2) † Αὐρήλιος Ἀρεώτης υἱὸς Μουσαίου ὁ προγεγραμμέ(νος)
 πεποιήμαι ταύτην τὴν χειρογραφίαν τοῦ ἐνός αὐξ(ονος)
 ὡς πρόκ(εῖται). Ἀναστᾶσιος ἐλαίω Θεοῦ διάκονος (καὶ)
 συμβολαιογράφ(ος) γράφ(ω) ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἀγραμμάτου ὄντος. †
 ✱ di em(u) Anastasiu etelithh̄ (signs)

Back, downwards along the fibres:

30 [†] χειρογρ(αφία) Ἀρεώτου υἱοῦ Μουσαίου ἀπὸ ἐπ[ο]ικ(ίου) Ψεμ[π]εκλη αὐξωνος
 ἐνός.

2 εὐσεβς ὑπατίας; 1. ὑπατείας 3, 21, 22 ἰνδ 4 φλς πραιεκτη: second ι corr. from β (so ed.
 ρι)? τω: ω corr. from ου 4, 6, 9, 24, 27 } (= καὶ) 5 ἀπ' πίωνοςγενομίς; 1. Ἀπίωνος 6, 11 οξυρυγχς

7 l. ἐπερωτῶντος 8 ἴδιοις 9 l. ἐνοχὴν 10 ἀπ̄ κτημῆς; κ corr. from του 11, 15 l. ἡμῶν
 11 εναπογραφευτῆς 14 l. ἀρόσιμον 14, 26, 30 l. ἄξονος 17 l. ἄξονα 18 l. ἐνταγίοις 19 l.
 ἐπιτήδειον ἀντλητικόν 21 l. ὑδροπαροχίας 22 σὺν αποδειξ 23 l. χειρογραφίαν 24 κυρ
 ἀπγραφε 25 υἱός προγεγραμμῆς 26 αυξ 27 προκ l. ἐλέω 28 συμβουλευογραφευτῆς;
 l. συμβουλευογράφος 30 χειρογραφῆς εποικ αυξωνος: ω corr. to ο

‘. . . in the consulship of our same most pious master, year 8, Hathyr 7, indiction 9.

‘To Flavia Praejecta and her son Flavius Apion, the most extraordinary heirs of Apion in well-famed memory, former patrician, landowners here also in the splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, through Menas, *oiketes*, who puts the formal question and supplies for his own masters, the same all-renowned men, the conduct of and responsibility for (the transaction), I, Aurelius Hareotes, son of Musaeus, mother Tarmuthie, originating from the hamlet of Psempecle of the Oxyrhynchite nome, a holding of your excellence, a registered farmer of yours, greeting.

‘Since now too a need for an axle has arisen in the estate irrigator under my charge called “Persebul”, which waters arable land, I came up to the city and asked your excellence through your representatives to order that the said axle be provided to me. This (axle), bought by me, its price being credited to my accounts, new, serviceable, suitable for irrigation, satisfactory, I received as completion of the irrigating implements this very day, which is Hathyr 7 of indiction 9, for the irrigation of the crops of the, God willing, tenth indiction. And in declaration of the receipt I have made this cheirograph, which is binding, written in a single copy, and in reply to the formal question I gave my assent.’

(2nd hand) ‘I, Aurelius Hareotes, son of Musaeus, the aforementioned, have made this cheirograph of the one axle as aforesaid. I, Anastasius, by God’s mercy deacon and contract-writer, write on his behalf because he is illiterate.

‘Completed through me, Anastasius.’

Back: ‘Cheirograph of Hareotes, son of Musaeus, from the hamlet of Psempecle, of one axle.’

1–3 The missing regnal date presumably read βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότην μεγίστου εὐεργέτου Φλαουίου Μαυρικίου Νέου Τιβερίου (or, less probably, simply Φλαουίου Μαυρικίου Τιβερίου) τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου (καὶ) Αὐτοκράτορος ἔτους θ; see CSBE² 153, 260–1.

10 Ταρμουθίης (nom. -θία). For this genitive, see LXI 4125 5 n.

27–9 On Anastasius, see LXIX 4557 12–13 n. Cf. 1990 36–8. He often writes for illiterates, as here and in 1990. 1988 27 is the only reference to his diaconate.

28 γράφ(ω). This is the only passage in which Anastasius used the present, not the past, indicative.

N. GONIS / T. M. HICKEY

1990. RECEIPT FOR AN AXLE

P. Cair. Cat. Gen. 10089

14.2 × 32.5 cm

13 January 591

[† βασι]λ[ε]ί[ας τοῦ] θειοτάτου [κα]ὶ εὐσεβ(εστάτου) ἡμῶν δεσπό(του)
 μεγίστου εὐεργέτου Φλ(αουίου) Μαυρικίου Νέου Τιβερίου τοῦ
 αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου καὶ Αὐτοκράτορος ἔτους θ/,
 ὑπατίας τοῦ αὐτοῦ εὐσεβ(εστάτου) ἡμῶν δεσπό(του) ἔτους η//,
 5 Τύβ[ι] ιζ, ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) θ//.

Φλαουίους Πραιῖκτη καὶ Ἀπίωνι τῷ αὐτῆς υἱῷ
 τοῖς ὑπερφυεστάτοις κληρονόμοις τοῦ {τῆς} ἐν εὐκλεεῖ
 τῇ μνήμῃ Ἀπίωνος γενομένου πατρικίου γεουχοῦς(ιν)
 καὶ ἐνταῦθα τῇ λαμπρᾷ Ὁξυρυγχ(ιτών) πόλει διὰ Μηναῖ

10 οἰκέτου τοῦ ἐπερωτῶντος καὶ προσπορίζοντος
 τοῖς ἰδίοις δεσπόταις τοῖς αὐτοῖς πανευφήμοις
 ἀνδράσιν τὴν ἀγωγὴν καὶ ἐνοχὴν Ἀυρήλιος
 Καρμάτας υἱὸς Φοιβάμμωνος μητρὸς Ἄννας
 ὀρμώμενος ἀπὸ κτήματος Παρθηνιάδος διαφέρ(οντος)
 15 τῇ ὑμῶν ὑπερφυεῖα τοῦ Ὄξυρυγχ(ίτου) νομοῦ ἐναπόγραφος
 αὐτῆς γεωργὸς χαίρειν. χρειᾶς καὶ νῆν γεναμέν(ης)
 εἰς τὴν ὑπ' ἐμὲ γεουχικὴν μηχανὴν καλουμένην
 Ἔσωθεν Τοῦ Αὐτοῦ Κτήματος ἀντλοῦσαν εἰς ἄμπελον
 καὶ ἀρρώσιμον γῆν αὔξονος ἐνός, ἀνελθὸν ἐπὶ τῆς
 20 πόλεως ἡξίωσα τὴν ὑμῶν ὑπερφύειαν διὰ τῶν
 αὐτῇ προσηκόντων ὥστε κελεῦσαι παρασχεθῆναί
 μοι τὸν αὐτὸν αὔξονα. καὶ εὐθέως πρόνοιαν
 ποιουμένη τῆς συστάσεως τῶν αὐτῆς πραγμάτων
 τοῦτον ἀγοραθέντα παρ' ἐμοῦ ἐν ἀγροῖς καὶ τὴν
 25 ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τιμὴν λογισθεῖσάν μοι ἐν τοῖς ἐμοῖς
 ἐνταγείοις καινὸν ἐπιτήδιον ἀντλητικὸν εὐάρεστον
 ἐδεξάμην εἰς ἀναπλήρωσιν πάντων τῶν μηχ(ανικῶν)
 ὀργάνων ἐν τῇ σήμερον ἡμέρᾳ, ἥτις ἐστὶν Τύβι
 ἕξ καὶ δεκάτῃ τῆς παρούσης ἐνάτης ἰνδικτίωνος), ὕδρο-
 30 παροχίας δὲ καρπῶν τῆς σὺν Θεῷ δεκάτης
 ἐπ[ι]εμήσεως. καὶ πρὸς ἀπόδειξιν τῆς ὑποδοχ(ῆς)
 ταύτην πεποίημαι τὴν χειρογραφ(ίαν), ἥτις κυρία
 οὖσα ἀπλῆ γραφ(εῖσα) καὶ ἐπερωτηθεῖς ὠμολ(όγησα). (m. 2) † Ἀυρήλιος
 Καρμάτας ὁ προγεγραμμ(ένος) πεποίημαι ταύτην
 35 τὴν χειρογρα(φίαν) τοῦ εἰρημένου ἐνός αὔξονος ὡς
 πρόκ(εῖται). Ἀναστάσιος ἔγραψ(α) ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἀγραμμ(άτου)
 ὄντος. †

✱ di em(u) Anast(asiu) eteliothh†

Back, downwards along the fibres:

† χειρογραφ(ία) Καρμάτου υἱοῦ Φοιβάμμωνος ἀπὸ κτήμ(ατος) Παρθηνιάδ(ος)

40 αὔξονος ἐνός. †//

1, 4 ευσεβ ¹	δεσπο ^ς	2 φλ ^ς	4 ὑπατίας; l. ὑπατείας	5, 29 ἰνΔ _α	6 πραιῖκτη	ὑια
7 ὑπερφυεστατοῖς	8 γεουχο ^ς ; first o corr. from υ		9 οξυρυγχ ^ς	11 ἰδιοῖς	13 υἱός	
14 διαφερ ^ς	15 ὑμωνῦπερφυεῖα	οξυρυγχ ^ς	16 l. νῆν	γεναμει ^ς	17 ὑπ	19 ἀρ'ρωσιμον;
l. ἀρόσιμον	l. ἀνελθῶν	19, 35, 40 l. ἄξονος	20 ὑμωνῦπερφυεῖαν	22 l. ἄξονα	26 l.	
ἐνταγείοις, ἐπιτήδειον	27 μηχ ^ς	29 l. ἐκκαδεκάτῃ	29-30 ὕδροπαροχίας	31 ὑποδοχ ^ς		
32 χειρογρα ^φ	33 γρα ^φ	επερωμο ^χ	34 προγεγραμμ ^α	36 προ ^κ	εγρα ^ψ	αγραμμ ^ς
39 χειρογρα ^φ	υἱοῦ	κτημ ^ς παρθηνια ^Δ				

‘In the reign of our most godly and most pious master, greatest benefactor, Flavius Mauricius New Tiberius, the eternal Augustus and Emperor, year 9, in the consulship of our same most pious master, year 8, Tybi 17, indiction 9.

‘To Flavia Praejecta and her son Flavius Apion, the most extraordinary heirs of Apion in well-famed memory, former patrician, landowners here also in the splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, through Menas, *oiketes*, who puts the formal question and supplies for his own masters, the same all-renowned men, the conduct of and responsibility for (the transaction). I, Aurelius Sarmatas, son of Phoebammon, mother Anna, originating from the holding of Parthenias of the Oxyrhynchite nome, belonging to your excellence, a registered farmer of yours, greeting.

‘Since now too a need for an axle has arisen in the estate irrigator under my charge called “Inside the Same Holding”, which waters a vineyard and arable land, I came up to the city and asked your excellence through your representatives to order that the said axle be provided to me. And at once (your excellence) showing regard to the state of your affairs (provided it to me), bought by me in the fields, its price being put down to my accounts, new, serviceable, suitable for irrigation, satisfactory, (which) I received as completion of all the irrigating implements this very day, which is the sixteenth of Tybi of the present ninth indiction, for the irrigation of the crops of the, God willing, tenth *epinemesis*. And in declaration of the receipt I have made this cheirograph, which is binding, written in a single copy, and in reply to the formal question I gave my assent.’

(2nd hand) ‘I, Aurelius Sarmatas, the aforewritten person, have made this cheirograph of the said one axle as aforesaid. I, Anastasius, wrote on his behalf because he is illiterate.

‘Completed through me, Anastasius.’

Back: ‘Cheirograph of Sarmatas, son of Phoebammon, from the holding of Parthenias, of one axle.’

N. GONIS / T. M. HICKEY

1991. RECEIPT FOR A POTWHEEL

XVI 1991

9.3 × 30.8 cm

18 September 601

Unlike the other texts published here, **1991** does not belong to the papers of the main branch of the Apion family, but relates to the so-called Fl. Strategius ‘Paneuphemos’. On the latter’s dossier, see B. Palme, *Chiron* 27 (1997) 95–125; texts published subsequently are CPR XXIV 25 and P. Berol. 25628 (ed. A. Syrkou, *APF* 49 (2003) 54–6).

† ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου
καὶ δεσπότου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ
τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν.
ὑπατίας τοῦ (αὐτοῦ) εὐσεβ[*(εστάτου)*] ἡμῶν
5 δεσπότου ἔτους [ι]θ, Θῶθ κᾶ,
ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ε̅.
Φλ(αουῖω) Στρατηγίω τῷ πανευ-
φήμω καὶ ὑπερφ(εστάτῳ) ὑπάτῳ
γεουχ(ούντι) καὶ ἐνταῦθα τῇ λαμπρ(ᾷ)
10 Ὀξυρυγχ(ιτών) π[ό]λ(ει) δ[ι]ὰ σοῦ Φλ(αουῖου)
Δωροθέου τ[οῦ] π[ε]ριβλέπτου
κόμ[*(ετος)*] καὶ διοικητ[ο]ῦ αὐτοῦ, Αὐρήλ[*(ιος)*]
Γεώργιος υἱὸς Μηνᾶ μητρ(ός)
Μάννας ἀπὸ ἐποικίου

15 Χινεωρέου διαφέρ(οντος) τῆ ὑμ(ῶν)
 ὑπερφ(υεία) τοῦ Ὁξυρυγχ(ίτου) νομοῦ
 ἔναπόγραφο[ς] α[ῦ]τῆς γεωργ(ός)
 χαί[ρειν]. χρεί[ας] καὶ [νῦν
 [γενναμέ(νη) εἰς τὴν ὑπ' ἐμὲ γεουχικὴν]
 20 μηχανὴν [κα]λ[ου]μ(ένην) [.]χατε
 ἀντλούσαν εἰς ἀρόσιμον γῆν
 κυλλῆς κυκλάδος μιᾶς, ἀνελθ(ῶν)
 ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως ἡξίωσα τὴν
 ὑμῶν ὑπερφ(ύειαν) ὥστε κελεῦσαι
 25 ταύτην παρασχεθῆναί μο[ι]. κα[ὶ]
 εὐθέως πρό[νοι]αν ποι[ουμ(ένη)] τῆς
 ρυστάξεως [τῶ]ν ἑαυτῆ[ς] πραγμ(άτων)
 ταύτην ἀ[γο]ρασ[θ]εῖσαν παρ' ἐμοῦ
 ἐν ἀγροῖς κ[α]ὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς
 30 τιμὴν λογισθεῖσάν μοι ὑπὲρ ἀργ(υρικῶν)
 πέμπτης ἰνδ(ικτίωνος), καινὴν ἐπιτήδ(ειον)
 ἀντλητικ(ήν) εὐάρεστον, ἐδεξάμην
 ἐν τῇ σήμερον ἡμέρα, ἥτις ἐστὶν
 Θῶθ κᾶ τῆς παρούσης πέμπτης
 35 ἰνδ(ικτίωνος), ὑδροπαροχ(ίας) καρπ(ῶν) ἕκτης ἰνδ(ικτίωνος).
 κυρ(ία) ἢ χειρογραφία ἀπλ(ῆ) γραφ(εῖσα) ὡς πρ(όκειται).
 † Γεώργιος υἱὸ[ς] Μηνᾶ στοιχ(εῖ)
 ὡς πρ(όκειται). Σ[ερ]ῆνος ἔγρ(αψα) (ὑπὲρ) αὐτ(οῦ) ἀγρ(αμμάτου)
 ὄντος.

(vac.)

40 ✱ di emu Serhnu

Back, downwards along the fibres:

† χειρογραφ(ία) γενναμέ(νη) π(αρά) [Γ]εωργίου υἱοῦ Μηνᾶ ἀπὸ ἐποικίου
 Χινεωρέου [] κυλλῆς κ[υκ]λάδ(ος) α
 .αν θ . . .

2 ἱησου	4 l. ὑπατείας	6, 31, 35 (bis) ινδ	7 φλς	8, 24 υπερφς	9 γεουχς		
λαμπρ	10 οξυρυγχςποχ	φλς	13 υἱος μητρ	15 διαφερ	υλλ	16 υπερφ	οξυ-
ρυγχς	17 γεωρπ	20 [κα]λ[ου]μ	22 ανελθς	24 υπερφ	27 πραγμς	30 αργς	
31 επιτηδς	32 αντλιτικ	35 υδροπαροχ	καρπς	36 κυρ	χειραπχγραφ	36, 38 πρ	
37 στοιχς	38 εγρβαυτςαγρ	41 χειρογραφ	γενναμςπ				

‘In the name of the lord and master Jesus Christ, our God and Saviour.

‘In the consulship of our same most pious master, year 19, Thoth 21, indiction 5.

‘To Flavius Strategius, the all-renowned and most extraordinary consul, landowner here also in the splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, through you, Flavius Dorotheus, *vir spectabilis, comes* and administrator of him, I, Aurelius Georgius, son of Menas, mother Manna, from the hamlet of Chineoreu of the Oxyrhynchite nome, belonging to your excellence, a registered farmer of yours, greeting.

‘Since now too a need for a potwheel has arisen in the estate irrigator under my charge called “—chate”, which waters arable land, I came up to the city and asked your excellence to order that it be provided to me; and at once your excellence showing regard to the state of your affairs, (provided) it (to me), bought by me in the fields, its price being calculated towards the money taxes of the fifth indiction, new, serviceable, suitable for irrigation, satisfactory, (which) I received this very day, which is Thoth 21 of the present fifth indiction, for the irrigation of the crops of the sixth *epinemesis*. This cheirograph is binding, written in one copy, as aforesaid.’

‘I, Georgius, son of Menas—(this cheirograph) satisfies me as aforesaid. I, Serenus, wrote on his behalf because he is illiterate.

‘(Completed ?) through me, Serenus.’

Back: ‘Cheirograph made by Georgius, son of Menas, from the hamlet of Chineoreu, for 1 potwheel.’

4 See LVIII **3933** 2–3 n. item 9 (= BL X 145).

5 See BL VIII 252.

15 *Χινεωρέου*. Cf. 42. Perhaps identical with P. CtYBR inv. 1366(B).4 (ed. *ZPE* 153 (2005) 170) *Χεινεωρέως*.

20 []χατε. Cf. P. Lips. I 97.27.12 (338) κλήρ(ου) Τχατε().

40 I give the notary’s signature essentially as read in *Byz. Not. Oxy.* 18.3.3, p. 86 (= BL VIII 253). Serenus also subscribed VII **1042** 39 (578), but not XVI **1987** 31 (see above). The unread part of the signature presumably corresponds to *etelioth*, but ‘the remains are ambiguous’.

43 This line does not seem to be part of the docket.

N. GONIS

1993. RECEIPT FOR A DONATION TO A CHURCH

P. Cair. Cat. Gen. 10098

8.6 × 33 cm

9 March 587

This is one of the most cursorily described texts in volume XVI: only a brief description and a partial transcript of lines 18–21 and 41 were printed.

Comparable texts are XVI **1898**, dated four days later than **1993**, and LXI **4131** of 600, both of which are receipts for charitable donations to hospitals; and LVIII **3936** (598), which specifies that the donation is part of a priest’s salary.

† βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ εὐσεβ(εστάτου)
 ἡμῶν δεσπότης μεγίστος εὐεργ[ι]σ(έτου)
 Φλ(αουῖου) Τιβερίου Μαυρικίου τοῦ αἰωνί[ο]υ
 Αὐγούστου καὶ Αὐτοκρά(τορος) ἔτους ε̅,
 5 ὑ]πατίας τοῦ αὐτοῦ εὐσεβ(εστάτου) ἡμῶν
 δεσπότης ἔτους δ̅, Φαμενώθ ιγ,
 ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) πέμπτης.
 τοῖς ὑπερφυεστάτοις διαδόχοις
 τοῦ τῆς εὐκλεοῦς μνήμη[ς]
 10 Ἀπίωνος γενομένου
 π]ρωτοπατρικίου γεουχοῦσιν

καὶ ἐνταῦθα τῇ λαμπρᾷ
 Ὁ]ξυρυγχιτῶν πόλει διὰ Μηνᾶ
 οἰκέτου τοῦ ἐπερωτῶντος καὶ
 15 προσπορίζοντος τοῖς ἰδίοις
 δεσπόταις τοῖς αὐτοῖς παν-
 ευφήμοις προσώποις τὴν
 ἀγωγὴν καὶ ἐνοχὴν, Ἰωάννης
 διάκονος καὶ οἰκονόμος
 20 τῆς ἀγίας Θ[ε]κλας υἱὸς τοῦ
 μακαρίου Πέτρος ἀπὸ τῆς
 αὐτῆς πόλεως. ὁμολογῶ
 εἰληφαίνει καὶ πεπληρῶσθ(αι)
 παρὰ τῆς ὑμῶν ὑπερφυείας
 25 τὴν ἀγίαν προσφορὰν τῆς
 σὺν Θεῷ ἕκτης ἐπινεμήσεως,
 τουτέστιν πίτου καγκέλλ(ω)
 ἀρτάβας τέσσαρα, τὰς καὶ
 δοθείας μοι διὰ Ἰούστου
 30 τοῦ αἰδεσίμου χαρτουλαρ(ίου)
 τοῦ ἐνδόξου ἡμῶν οἴκ(ου)
 καὶ πρὸς ἀπόδειξιν
 τῆς ὑποδοχ(ῆς) ταύτην
 πεποίημ(αι) τὴν ἀπόδειξ(ιν).
 35 κυρ(ία) ἢ ἀπόδ. ξ(ικ) ἀπλ(ῆ) γραφ(εῖσα)
 καὶ ἐπερ(ωτηθεῖς) ὠμολόγησα. †
 (m. 2) † Ἰωάννης διάκ(ονος) (καὶ) ἡκο-
 νόμος τῆς ἀγίας Θεέκλ-
 ας στιχοὶ μοι αὕτη ἢ
 40 ἀπόδειξις ὡς πρόκ(εῖται).
 (m. 3) ✠ di emu Papnutiu (eteliioth)h

Back:

† ἀπόδειξ(ικ) τοῦ εὐλαβ(εστάτου) Ἰωάννου διακ(όνου) οἰκ(ονόμου) τῆς ἀγί(ας) Θεέκλας
 κί(του) κ(αγκέλλω) (ἀρταβῶν) δ.

1 ευσεβς	3 φλς	4 αυτοκρα	5 ευσεβς	1. ὑπατείας	6 δεσψς	7 ἰνΔ*
8 ὑπερφυεστατοις	15 τοις: τοις{ε}ς?	18 ἰωαννης	21 l. Πέτρου	23 πεπληρωσθς	1. εἰληφέναι	
24 ὑπερφυειας	27 καγκελς	28 l. τέσσαρας	29 ἰουστου	1. δοθείας	30 αιδεσιμου: δ	
corr. from ε	χαρτουλαρ	31 οικ	1. ὑμῶν?	32 l. ἀπόδειξιν	33 ὑποδοχς	34 πεποιημς
αποδειξ	35 κυρ	αποδ. ξαπλγραψ; 1. ἀπόδειξις	36 επερωμολογς	37 διακς	37-8 l.	

οἰκονόμος 39 μοῦ; l. στοιχεῖ 40 προκ l. ἀπόδειξις 42 αποδειξ̄ ευλαβῆς ἰωαννουδιαχοικ
 αγτ εκκτ της: η corr. from ο?

‘In the reign of our most godly and most pious master, greatest benefactor, Flavius Tiberius Mauricius, the eternal Augustus and Imperator, year 5; in the consulship of our same most pious master, year 4, Phamenoth 13, indiction fifth.’

‘To the most extraordinary successors of Apion of well-famed memory, former first patrician, landowners here also in the splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, through Menas, *oiketes*, who puts the formal question and supplies for his own masters, the same all-renowned persons, the conduct of and responsibility for (the transaction), I, Ioannes, deacon and steward of (the church of) Saint Thecla, son of the blessed Petrus from the same city. I acknowledge to have received and been paid from your excellence the holy donation of the, God willing, sixth indiction, that is, four artabas of wheat by *cancellus* measure, which are those delivered to me by Iustus, the revered *chartularius* of (y?)our glorious household; and in declaration of the receipt I have made this receipt. This receipt is binding, written in one copy, and in answer to the formal question I gave my assent.’ (2nd hand) ‘I, Ioannes, deacon and steward of (the church of) Saint Thecla—this receipt as aforesaid is satisfactory to me.’

(3rd hand) ‘Completed through me, Papnutius.’

Back: ‘Receipt of the most pious Ioannes, deacon (and) steward of (the church of) Saint Thecla, for 4 artabas of wheat by *cancellus* measure.’

1–6 For the dating clauses, see *CSBE*² 260–1; cf. **1987** 1–5, **4799** 1–4. (*CSBE*² 260 states that the form of Maurice’s name is lost, but *Τιβερίου Μαυρικίου* appears as expected.)

8–18 The formula is identical with XVI **1898** 7–15, written and signed by the same notary.

19 διάκονος καὶ οἰκονόμος. Cf. 37–8, 42. On the collocation, see *ZPE* 150 (2004) 199.

20 τῆς ἁγίας Θ[ε]κλας. See LXVII **4617** 10 n. For more recent work on Thecla, see S. J. Davis, *BASP* 36 (1999) 71–81, and *The Cult of Saint Thecla: A Tradition of Women’s Piety in Late Antiquity* (Oxford 2001).

25 ἁγίαν προσφοράν. See LXVII **4620** 2–3 n., with the additional remarks in T. M. Hickey, *A Public ‘House’ but Closed: ‘Fiscal Participation’ and Economic Decision Making on the Oxyrhynchite Estate of the Flavii Apiones* (diss. Chicago 2001) 140–2.

29–30 Ἰούστου τοῦ αἰδεσίμου χαρτουλαρίου. On *chartularii*, see LVIII **3938** 9 n. Iustus also appears in XVI **1898** 27 (13.iii.587, i.e., four days after **1993**) and perhaps in XVI **2039** 29 (late VI). The namesake in XXIV **2420** (614; see BL X 148), Ἰούστου [δ] λαμπροτάτου χαρτ[ου]λ[ά]ριος, is not very likely to be the same person. Cf. also LVI **3870** 11 (VI/VII), a letter written by one Ἰούστος ὁ χαρτ[ου]λάριος (l. 10)—but the reading of the title is uncertain. This Iustus is probably not the same as the banker of LVIII **3935** 6 (591); see B. Palme, *Chiron* 27 (1997) 105–6 n. 22.

31 ἡμῶν, l. ὑμῶν? Cf. LVIII **3942** 8 (606) (not corrected in app. crit.), LXI **4131** 30 (600).

41 (eteliōth)ῆ is essentially after *Byz. Not.* Oxy. 16.2.8, p. 84 (= BL VIII 253).

INDEXES

Figures in small raised type refer to fragments, small roman numerals to columns. Square brackets indicate that a word is wholly or substantially restored by conjecture or from other sources, round brackets that it is expanded from an abbreviation or a symbol. An asterisk denotes a word not recorded in *LSJ* or its *Revised Supplement*. The article and (in the documentary section) *καί* are not indexed. Of the texts edited in the Appendix, only **1993** is indexed.

I. THEOLOGICAL TEXT (4759)

- | | |
|--|--|
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 —ριοῦν 2</p> |
|--|--|

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III. RULERS

MARCUS AURELIUS

Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ Οὐήρου **4779** 5-6 (year 3)

CARACALLA

Αὔρηλιου Σεουήρου Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου **4772** 6 (year 22)

SEVERUS ALEXANDER

Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου Αὔρηλιου Σεουήρου Ἀλεξάνδρου Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ **4775** 22-4 (year 2) **4777** 9-10 (year 11)

IUSTINIANUS

βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότη Φλαουίου Ἰουστινιανοῦ τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου καὶ Αὐτοκράτορος **4786** 2-4 (year 25) **4787** 1-2 (year 37)

IUSTINUS II

βασιλείας καὶ ὑπατείας τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότη Φλαουίου Ἰουστίνου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου καὶ Αὐτοκράτορος **4788** 1-3 (year 1)

βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότη μεγίστου εὐεργέτου Φλαουίου Ἰουστίνου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου καὶ Αὐτοκράτορος **4789** 1-3 (year 11) **4790** 1-3 (year 13) **4791** 1-2 (year 13)

TIBERIUS II

(βασιλείας) Φλαουίου Τιβερίου τοῦ καὶ Νέου Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ εὐτυχιστάτου ἡμῶν Καίσαρος **4789** 4-5 **4790** 5-6 (year 3) **4791** 3 (year 3)

TIBERIUS II (*cont.*)

βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότης μεγίστου εὐεργέτου Φλαουίου Τιβερίου Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου καὶ Αὐτοκράτορος **4792** 1–3 (year 1) **4793** 1–3 (year 1?) **4794** 1–2 (year 5)

MAURICIUS

βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότης μεγίστου εὐεργέτου Φλαουίου Μαυρικίου Νέου Τιβερίου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου καὶ Αὐτοκράτορος **4795** 1–4 (year 1)

βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότης μεγίστου εὐεργέτου Φλαουίου Τιβερίου Μαυρικίου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου καὶ Αὐτοκράτορος **4796** 1–2 (year 2) **4799** 1–3 App. **1993** 1–4 (year 5)

HERACLIUS

βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότης μεγίστου εὐεργέτου Φλαουίου Ἡρακλείου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου καὶ Αὐτοκράτορος **4801** 2–4 (year 8)

IV. CONSULS

457 μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν Φλαουίων Βαράνου καὶ Ἰωάννου τῶν λαμπροτάτων [**4780** 1?]

525 ὑπατείας Φλαουίου Φιλοξένου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου **4781** 1

528 *στ* 533 *στ* 534 ὑπατείας τοῦ δεσπότης ἡμῶν Φλαουίου Ἰουστινιανοῦ τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου [τὸ β'] *στ* [τὸ γ'] *στ* [τὸ δ'] **4783** 1–2

530 ὑπατεία Φλαουίων Ὀρέστου καὶ Λαμπαδίου τῶν λαμπροτάτων **4784** 1 **4785** 1

551 τοῖς τὸ θ' μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν Φλαουίου Βασιλείου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου **4786** 4–5

564 τοῖς τὸ κγ' μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν Φλαουίου Βασιλείου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου **4787** 2–3

566 βασιλείας καὶ ὑπατείας τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότης Φλαουίου Ἰουστίνου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου καὶ Αὐτοκράτορος **4788** 1–2

576, 578 ὑπατείας τῆς αὐτῶν (Iustinus II) γαληνότητος τὸ β' **4789** 3–5 **4791** 2–3

578 μετὰ τὴν δευτέραν ὑπατείαν τῆς αὐτῶν (Iustinus II) γαληνότητος ἔτους ια' **4790** 3–6

580 ὑπατείας τοῦ αὐτοῦ (Tiberius II) εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότης ἔτους β' **4794** 2

582 μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν τοῦ τῆς (θείας) λήξεως γενομένου ἡμῶν δεσπότης Φλαουίου Τιβερίου Νέου Κωνσταντίνου τὸ δ' **4795** 4–6

583 μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν τοῦ τῆς θείας λήξεως γενομένου ἡμῶν δεσπότης Τιβερίου Κωνσταντίνου **4796** 2–4

586 ὑπατείας τοῦ αὐτοῦ (Mauricius) εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότης ἔτους δ' **4799** 3–4 App. **1993** 5–6

V. INDICATIONS AND ERAS

(a) INDICATIONS

1st indiction	4788 26 (= 567/8) 4795 6 (= 582/3)	9th indiction	4784 2 (= 530/1) 4785 2, 24 (= 530/1)
	4800 16 (= 612/13?)		4789 5 (= 575/6)
2nd indiction	4796 4 (= 583/4) 4797 16 (= 583/4)	10th indiction	[4785 25] (= 531/2)
3rd indiction	4797 17 (= 584/5)	11th indiction	4790 6 (= 577/8) 4791 4 (= 577/8)
4th indiction	4781 [1], 20 (= 525/6)	12th indiction	4787 3 (= 563/4) 4792 3 (= 578/9)
5th indiction	4798 18 (= 586/7) 4799 4, 22 (= 586/7) App. 1993 7 (= 586/7)		[4793 3?] (= 578/9)
6th indiction	4798 19 (= 587/8) 4799 23 (= 587/8)	13th indiction	4794 3 (= 579/80)
	4801 5 (= 617/18) App. 1993 26 (= 587/8)	14th indiction	4786 6 (= 550/1)
		15th indiction	4786 21, 24 (= 551/2) 4788 3, 19, 25 (= 566/7) 4800 15 (= 611/12?)

(b) ERAS OF OXYRHYNCHUS

202/171 **4781** 19 (= 525/6)
 204/173 **4782** 15 (= 527/8)
 207/176 **4785** 24 (= 530/1)

243/212 **4788** 24 (= 566/7)
 254/223 **4791** 4 (= 577/8)

VI. MONTHS

Θώθ **4780** 1 **4784** 2 **4798** 18
 Φαῶφι **4785** 2, 23 **4788** 3, 24 **4796** 4 **4797** 16 **4799**
 4, 22 **4801** 5
 Ἀθύρ **4773** 3 **4774** 7 **4781** [1], 19 **4795** 6 **4800** 14
 Τῦβι **4772** a 6 **4782** 14 **4790** 6 **4792** 3

Μεχείρ **4789** 5
 Φαμενώθ **4772** a 18 **4787** 3 **4791** 4 **4794** 3 App.
1993 6
 Παχών **4775** 24 **4777** 10
 Μεσορή **4772** a 19 **4786** 5

VII. DATES

December 213/January 214 **4772** a 6–7
 220/1 or 224/5 **4773** 3
 November 221–4 **4774**
 26 April–25 May 223 **4775** 22–4
 Before summer 225 **4776**
 13 September 457? **4780** 1
 10 November 525 **4781** 1
 9–25 January 528 **4782** 14–15
 528 or 533 or 534 **4783** 1–2
 23 September 530 **4784** 1–2
 19 October 530 **4785** 1–2
 27 July 551 **4786** 2–6
 12 March 564 **4787** 1–3
 15 October 566 **4788** 1–3

20 February 576 **4789** 1–5
 11 January 578 **4790** 1–6
 25 March 578 **4791** 1–4
 19 January 579 **4792** 1–3
 579? **4793** 1–3
 28 February 580 **4794** 1–3
 25 November 582 **4795** 1–6
 8 October 583 **4796** 1–4 **4797** 15–16
 26? September 586 **4798** 18
 5 October 586 **4799** 1–4
 9 March 587 App. **1993** 1–7
 19 November 611? **4800** 14–15
 22? October 617 **4801** 2–5

VIII. PERSONAL NAMES

A—, m. of Aur. Germanus **4792** 11
 Ἀείων, Aur., s. of Petrus **4780** 4, 8
 Ἀλέξανδρος; see Index III s.v. Severus Alexander
 Ἀμα Ἰσοῦς, m. of Aur. Surus **4790** 21
 Ἀναστάσιος **4797** 20, 21 (*Anastasiu*)
 Ἀνδρέας, f. of Aur. Tarilla **4797** 2, 22
 Ἀνουβίων, Aur., *strategus* of the Oxyrhynchite **4772**
 a 1
 Ἀνοῦπ, Aur., registered farmer, s. of Diogenes **4781**
 6, 22
 Ἀντωνίνος; see Index III s.v. Marcus Aurelius;
 Caracalla
 Ἀπ—, f. of Aur. Philoxenus **4791** 9, [19]
 Ἀπαωρ, Aur., registered farmer, s. of Apollon and
 —me **4788** 8, 28, 33
 Ἀπία; see s.v. Ἰσιδώρα

Ἀπιανός: Claudius Apianus, f. of Claudia Isidora *alias*
 Apia **4772** a 2, 9, [13] **4776** a 2 **4776** b 2
 Ἀπίων, Fl., *magister militum* **4786** 7
 Ἀπίων, Fl., former *consul ordinarius* **4787** 4 former
consul ordinarius and *patricius* **4788** 4 **4789** 6 [**4790**
 7] **4791** 5 **4792** 5 [**4793** 4] **4794** 4 **4795** 8 **4796** 6
4798 1 **4799** 6 App. **1993** 10
 Ἀπίων, Fl., *patricius* **4801** 6
 Ἀπολλώνιος, Aur., manager of Nesus **4773** 2
 Ἀπολλώνιος, f. of Saras, former overseer of Claudia
 Isidora *alias* Apia **4774** 2
 Ἀπολλώνιος, Aur., scribe **4777** 3
 Ἀπολλῶς, f. of Aur. Georgius **4787** 14
 Ἀπολλῶς, f. of Aur. Apaor **4788** 8, 28, 33
 Ἀπολλῶς, Aur., registered farmer, s. of Pasoei(u)s and
 Tarilla **4798** 4, 21, 25

- Ἀπολλῶς, s. of Ioannes **4800** 18
 Ἀπολλῶς, f. of Aur. Checul **4802** 8
 Ἀπφοῦς, f. of Aur. Theodorus **4780** 4
 Ἀράχθης, provider of water for the property of
 Megale(?) Nesus **4773** 4
 Ἀρία, m. of Aur. Pamuthius **4785** 9
 Ἀρποκρατίων, Aur. **4772** a 7
 Ἀρποκρατίων, Aur., *strategus* of the Oxyrhynchite
4774 5 **4775** 7
 Ἀρ—(Ἀρσινώη?), m. of Lucius **4772** a 11–12
 Ἀσκληπιάδης: Claudius Asclepiades, agent of Claudia
 Isidora *alias* Apia **4772** a 15 [**4777** 3–4]
 Ἀσκληπιάδης **4779** 3
 Αὔγουστος; *see* Index III s.vv. Iustinianus; Iustinus II;
 Tiberius II; Mauricius; Heraclius; Index IV s.vv.
 528 *or* 533 *or* 534, 566
 Αὔρηλία; *see* s.vv. Θερμη, Ταρίλλα
 Αὔρηλιος; *see* s.vv. Ἀείων, Ἀνουβίων, Ἀνούπ,
 Απαωρ, Ἀπολλώνιος, Ἀπολλῶς, Ἀρποκρατίων,
 Βίκτωρ, Γερμανός, Γεώργιος, Ἐνώχ, Ἐπίμαχος,
 Ἡρακλείδης, Θεόδωρος, Ἰερημίας, Ἰούλιος, Μηνάς,
 Ὀνωφρις, Πακλεων, Παμούθιος, Πατέρμουθις,
 Σαραπάμμων, Σαραπίων, Σεουήρος, Σερήνος,
 Σουρούς, Φιλόξενος, Φοιβάμμων, Χεκουλ, Ψαν—,
 Ὠρίων
- Βαράνης, Fl., *vir clarissimus*, consul 456 [**4780** 1?]; *see*
also Index IV s.v. 457
 Βασίλειος, Fl., *vir clarissimus*, consul 541 **4786** 5 **4787**
 3; *see also* Index IV s.vv. 551, 564
 Βίκτωρ, Aur., s. of N.N. **4786** 11
 Βίκτωρ, f. of Aur. Pacleon **4789** 11, 15
 Βίκτωρ, f. of N.N. **4790** 14
- Γεμίνιος: Geminus Valerianus, *vir egregius*, in charge
 of the *idios logos* **4778** 1
 Γερμανός, Aur., caretaker, s. of Pseius and A— **4792**
 10
 Γεώργιος, Aur., registered farmer, s. of Apollos **4787**
 14, 18
- Δανιήλ **4788** 30, 32 (*Danihliou*)
 Διογένης, f. of Aur. Anup **4781** 6, 22
 Διονύσιος; *see* s.v. Σαραπάμμων
- Ἐνώχ, Aur., agent, registered ?farmer, s. of
 Patase **4794** 12
 Ἐπίμαχος, Aur., registered farmer, s. of Ioseph **4784** 8
 Ἐρμίας: Claudius Demetrius *alias* Hermias, *strategus*
 of the Oxyrhynchite **4779** 2
 Ἐὐδοκία: Aelia Eudocia, empress, wife of Theodosius
 II **4780** 3
 Ἐὐδοξία, m. of Aur. Ieremias **4794** 7
- Ζαχαρίας, mechanic **4799** 19
- Ἡραΐς, m. of Aur. Psan— **4793** 9
 Ἡραΐς, m. of Aur. Checul **4802** 8
 Ἡρακλείδης, Aur., overseer **4773** 1 **4774** 1
 Ἡρακλείδης, Aur., administrator of the estate
 formerly of Claudia Isidora *alias* Apia **4777** 3
 Ἡράκλειος; *see* Index III s.v. Heraclius
- Θέκλα, m. of N.N. **4790** 14
 Θέκλα (ἁγία); *see* Index X
 Θεοδώρα, m. of Aur. Serenus **4790** 12
 Θεόδωρος: Claudius Theodorus, priest and *archidicastes*
4772 a 4, 7
 Θεόδωρος, Aur., s. of Apphus **4780** 4
 Θερμη, Aur., registered farmer, d. of Pseeius and
 Nonna **4801** 10, 16
 Θερμουθίη, m. of Aur. Onnophris **4796** 11
- Ἰερημίας, Aur., former headman, registered farmer, s.
 of Procopius and Eudoxia, brother of Iulius **4794**
 7, 11, 21, 25
 Ἰησοῦς; *see* Index X
 Ἰούλιος, Aur., registered ?farmer, s. of Procopius and
 Eudoxia, brother of Ieremias **4794** 11
 Ἰουστινιανός; *see* Index III s.v. Iustinianus
 Ἰουστίνος; *see* Index III s.v. Iustinus II; Index IV s.vv.
 566, 576
 Ἰούσττος, *chartularius* App. **1993** 29
 Ἰσάκ, f. of Aur. Menas **4785** 10, 28, [30]
 Ἰσιδώρα: Claudia Isidora *alias* Apia, d. of Claudius
 Arrianus **4772** a 2, 8–9, 12 **4774** 3 **4775** 13–14
4776 a 1 **4776** b 1 **4777** 4–5 **4778** 7–8
 Ἰσις, m. of N.N. **4802** 2
 Ἰωάννης, Fl., *vir clarissimus*, consul 456 [**4780** 1?]; *see*
also Index IV s.v. 457
 Ἰωάννης, f. of Apollos **4800** 18
 Ἰωάννης **4800** 19, 20 (*Ioannu*)
 Ἰωάννης, s. of Petrus, deacon and steward of (the
 church of) Saint Thecla App. **1993** 18, 37, 42
 Ἰωσήφ, f. of Aur. Epimachus **4784** 8
- Καΐσαρ; *see* Index III s.vv. Marcus Aurelius; Caracalla;
 Severus Alexander; Index IV s.vv. 576, 578
 Κλαυδία; *see* s.v. Ἰσιδώρα
 Κλαύδιος; *see* s.vv. Ἀπιανός, Ἀσκληπιάδης, Θεόδωρος
 Κοπρέυς, vine-dresser of the property of Peruen(?)
4773 18
 Κωνσταντῖνος; *see* Index III s.v. Tiberius II; Index IV
 s.vv. 582, 583
- Λαμπάδιος, Fl., *vir clarissimus*, consul 530 **4784** 1 **4785**
 1; *see also* Index IV s.v. 530

- Λούκιος, s. of —ius, son of Lucius, mother Ar— **4772**
a 11
- Λούκιος, f. of —ius **4772** a 11
- Μαρία, m. of Aur. Philoxenus **4791** 9
- Μαρία, m. of Phi— and Phoebammon **4791** 14
- Μαρία, m. of Aur. Pamuthius **4802** 7
- Μάρκος; *see* Index III s.v. Severus Alexander
- Μάρκος **4802** 19
- Μαυρίκιος; *see* Index III s.v. Mauricius; Index IV
s.v. 586
- Μηράς, *oiketes* of Fl. Strategius (II) **4781** 4 **4784** 6
4785 6
- Μηράς, Aur., s. of Isac and Tabes **4785** 10, 28, 30
- Μηράς, *oiketes* **4781** 4 [**4784** 5] **4785** 6 **4787** 6 **4788**
6 **4789** 8 **4790** 9 **4791** 7 **4792** 7 [**4793** 6] **4794** 5
4796 7 **4798** 2 **4799** 7 **4801** 7 App. **1993** 13
- Νόννα, m. of Aur. Tarilla **4797** 3
- Νόννα, m. of Aur. Therme **4801** 10
- Όρέστης, Fl., *vir clarissimus*, consul 530 **4784** 1 [**4785**
1]; *see also* Index IV s.v. 530
- Όνωφρις, Aur., registered farmer, s. of Phoebammon
and Thermuthiē **4796** 10, 14
- Όρρένουφρις, vine-dresser(?) of the property of
Megale(?) Nesus **4773** 16
- Όυαλεριανός: Geminus Valerianus, *vir egregius*, in
charge of the *idios logos* **4778** 1
- Ουήρος; *see* Index III s.v. Marcus Aurelius
- Πακλεων, Aur., s. of Victor, fruit-grower of the house
of Arion II **4789** 11, [15]
- Παμούθιος, Aur., s. of Sitta(s) and Aria **4785** 9, 28, 30
- Παμούθιος, Aur., s. of Phoebammon and Maria
4802 6
- Πανεχώτης, provider of water for the property of
Peruen(?) **4773** 12
- Παπνούθιος **4794** 23, 24 (*Papnutiu*) **4798** 22, 24
(*Papnutiu*) **4799** 28, 29 (*Papnutiu*) App. **1993** 41
(*Papnutiu*)
- Πασώειος, f. of Aur. Apollos **4798** 5, 21, 25
- Πατασε, f. of Aur. Enoch **4794** 12
- Πατέρμουθις, Aur., controller of the tax-concession
on milling(?) for the city and nome of the
Oxyrhynchite **4777** 1
- Πέτρος, f. of Aur. Acion **4780** 4
- Πέτρος, f. of Ioannes App. **1993** 21
- Πόλις, provider of water for the property of
Megale(?) Nesus **4773** 8
- Προκόπιος, f. of Aur. Ieremias **4794** 7, 22
- Πτολλάς, provider of water for the property of
Peruen(?) **4773** 12
- Σαραπάμμων, Aur., alias Dionysius, overseer **4774** 1
- Σαραπίων, Aur., secretary of Claudia Isidora *alias*
Aria **4772** a 3 **4775** 12
- Σαραπίων, secretary of Harpocraton, *strategus* of the
Oxyrhynchite **4774** 5
- Σαραπίων, Aur., alias N.N., secretary to the municipal
funds of the Oxyrhynchites **4778** 3
- Σαράς, s. of Apollonius, former overseer of Claudia
Isidora *alias* Aria **4774** 2
- Σεβαστός **4772** a 15; *see also* Index III s.v. Severus
Alexander
- Σεουήρος; *see* Index III s.vv. Caracalla; Severus
Alexander
- Σερήνος, Aur., former(?) *cosmetes*, councillor of the city
of the Oxyrhynchites **4775** 1
- Σερήνος, Aur., s. of —nus and Theodora **4790** 11
- Σιττα(ς), f. of Aur. Pamuthius **4785** 9, 28, 30
- Σουρούς, Aur., registered farmer, s. of Phib and Ama
Eüs **4790** 20
- Στρατήγιος, Fl., *comes sacri consistorii* (Strategius I)
[**4780** 2]
- Στρατήγιος, Fl., *ex consulibus* and *magister militum* **4781**
2 *ex consulibus*, *magister militum*, and *patricius* [**4783**
3] **4784** 3 **4785** 3
- Ταβης, m. of Aur. Menas **4785** 10
- Ταος, m. of Aur. Phoebammon **4799** 9
- Ταρίλλα, Aur., registered farmer, d. of Andreas and
Nonna **4797** 2, 19, 22
- Ταρίλλα, m. of Aur. Apollos **4798** 5
- Τεκραμπε, m. of Aur. Philoxenus **4787** 9
- Τιβέριος; *see* Index III s.vv. Tiberius II; Mauricius;
Index IV s.vv. 580, 582, 583
- Τουαντκολα, f. of Aur. Phoebammon **4799** 9, 26, 30
- Φι—, registered farmer, s. of N.N. and Maria, brother
of Phoebammon **4791** 14, 20
- Φιβ, f. of Aur. Surus **4790** [21], 32
- Φιλόξενος, Fl., *vir clarissimus*, consul 525 [**4781** 1]; *see*
also Index IV s.v. 525
- Φιλόξενος, Aur., headman, son of N.N. and Tecrampe
4787 8
- Φιλόξενος, Aur., registered farmer, son of Ar— and
Maria **4791** 9, 19
- Φλάουϊος; *see* s.vv. Άπίων, Βαράνης, Βασίλειος,
Ήράκλειος, Ίουστινιανός, Ίουστίνος, Ίωάννης,
Λαμπάδιος, Μαυρίκος, Όρέστης, Στρατήγιος,
Τιβέριος, Φιλόξενος
- Φοιβάμμων, registered farmer, s. of N.N. and Maria,
brother of Phi— **4791** 14, [20]
- Φοιβάμμων, f. of Aur. Onnophris **4796** 10, [14]
- Φοιβάμμων, Aur., registered farmer, s. of Tuanticola
and Taos **4799** 9, 26, 30

Φοιβάμμων, f. of Aur. Pamuthius **4802** 7

Χεκουλ, Aur., s. of Apollos and Herais **4802** 8
Χριστοφόριος **4786** 8

Ψαν—, Aur., registered farmer, s. of N.N. and
Herais **4793** [8], 13

Ψέειος, f. of Aur. Germanus **4792** 10

Ψέειος, f. of Aur. Therme **4801** 10, 16

Ωρίων, Aur., controller of the tax-concession
on milling(?) for the city and nome of the
Oxyrhynchite **4777** 1

A. [. . .] (Anna?), m. of Aur. Germanus **4792** 11

. . . ιος, f. of Lucius, s. of Lucius **4772** a 11

—μη, m. of Aur. Apaor **4788** 9

—νος, f. of Aur. Serenus **4790** 12

. . . ūs **4802** 20

IX. GEOGRAPHICAL

Άγροι[κικοίς] (μηχανή) **4788** 12

Άλεξάνδρεια **4781** 16 **4782** 11 **4785** 20

Άνω τοπαρχία **4775** 4

Διογένους (κλήρος) **4775** 11

Έπικήμου (κώμη) **4802** 2, 9

Έρακλεοπολιτών (πόλις) **4783** 6 **4784** 5 **4785** 5

Θεοδώρου (κλήρος) **4775** 11

Ίουστινουπολίτης (νομός) **4790** 15 **4791** 10

Καινης (μηχανή) **4781** 10

Κολοσσού (έποίκιον) **4798** 5, 25

Κυαμώνος (έποίκιον) **4791** 9, [19]

Κ. [. . .]ερα(ν) (μηχανή) **4801** 14

Μεγάλης(?) Νήσου (κτηήμα) **4773** 4, 8

Μεγάλης Ταρουθίνου (κτηήμα) **4790** 15

Μητροδώρου (έποίκιον) **4781** 7, 22

Νέα Ίουστίνου (πόλις) **4789** 8 **4790** 8 **4791** 6

Νήκος **4773** 2

Νήσου Λευκαδίου (έποίκιον) **4796** 11, [14]

Νικήτου (έποίκιον) **4788** 9, 33

Του Νοτίνου Χωρίου (μηχανή) **4797** 6–7

Όξυρυγχίτης (νομός) **4772** a 1, [5] **4774** 4, 6 **4777** 2
4781 7 [4782 1] **4784** 10 **4785** 11 **4787** 10 **4788** 9
[4793 9] **4794** 8 **4796** 12 **4797** 4 **4798** 6 **4799** 10
4801 11 **4802** 2

Όξυρυγχιτών (πόλις) **4775** 2 **4778** 4–5, 6, 25 **4780** 3
ή λαμπρά Όξυρυγχιτών πόλις [4781 3] [4783 7]
4784 5 **4785** 6 **4786** 9 [4787 6] **4788** 6 [4792 7]
4793 6 **4794** 5 **4796** 7 [4798 2] **4799** 6 **4801** 7
App. **1993** 13

Όξυρύγχων (πόλις) **4772** a 12 **4784** 2 **4788** 3

Παγγουλείου (έποίκιον) **4784** 9

Παλώσεως (κτηήμα) **4794** 8

Πανευει (κώμη) **4787** 9

Παρνατης (μηχανή) **4798** 9

Περουεν(?) (κτηήμα) **4773** 12, 20

Πλατείας (άμφοδον) **4778** 8–9, 16

πόλις τών Άλεξανδρέων (ή λαμπροτάτη πόλις τών
Άλεξανδρέων) **4772** a 10, 13–14 [4776 a 3]

Του Πωμαρίου (μηχανή) **4780** 6

Σεκούνδου (έποίκιον) **4802** 7

Σιττα (μηχανή) **4785** 14

Σκυταλίτιδος (έποίκιον) **4799** 10, 30

Ταμπετι (κώμη) **4785** 11

Τών Τεκτόνων (μηχανή) **4799** 13

Τροΐλλου (sc. Τρωΐλου?) (έποίκιον) **4801** 11, [16]

Τρυνε (έποίκιον) **4797** 3, 22

Φλώρου Πέρα (έποίκιον) **4780** 4

Ψώβθις (κώμη) **4775** 9

—μάχος (κλήρος) **4775** 10–11

. . . του έκεισε . . . (μηχανή) **4782** 3

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4759 ↓ (reduced)





...το το ο υ ε
 ...
 ... κ & ε τ
 ... ε ρ ο ν ... τ ε ρ ι
 ... ε τ τ ε ρ ... τ η ο
 ... ο ν ε λ ω ν η ο
 ... ο υ κ ε ... ο τ τ ρ
 ... κ & ε ι ... τ ο
 ... ο υ ν ...
 ... ο
 ... ο ν ε τ ι
 ... ο ν τ η τ ι
 ... ο ο ε λ
 ... ο ν τ τ & γ β ρ ι ο
 ... ο ν τ ε ν ι ο ν ο υ
 ... ο ε ν ο α ε

4759 → (reduced)

4761

Fragmentary papyrus scroll with Greek text. The text is written in a cursive hand and is heavily obscured by damage and holes. Legible fragments include:

ΒΟΥΛΟΝ
ΕΛΕΝ
ΑΥΤΩ
ΔΕΛ
Ν
... ΜΕΤΑΣΤΡΕΠΤΕΙ ΚΑΙ
... ΕΙΣ ΤΑ
... ΔΥΝΑΥΤΙΝΟΣ
... ΟΜΕΝΟΥ
... ΤΑ
... ΕΝ ΔΗΥ
... ΚΟΝ
... ΑΥΤΑΣΕΣΟ
... ΑΥΝΦΥΓΗ
... ΡΕΝΤΑΙ ΕΠΙΒΥΜΙΑΙ
... ΑΙ ΑΡΑΣΚΑΙ
... ΕΥΘΕΙΣ ΦΒΕΙΕΥΚΑΤΑ
... ΤΟΝ ΠΟΛΛΑΝ ΜΕΝΑΥ
... ΤΟΝ ΗΛΘΟΝΕ ΝΑΙΟΥΡΑΥΡ
... ΗΜΗΡΑΝΟΛΗ... ΥΚΤΕΣ
... ΔΙΗΜΕΧΛΟ... ΑΛΟΜΑΝΤΙΑ
... ΑΛΛΑ... ΚΑ... ΚΟΚΑΜΑ...
... ΔΥ...



Papyrus fragment with Greek text, likely from the same scroll as fragment 4761. The text is written in a cursive hand and includes:

... ΠΡΩΤΟΣ
... ΕΜΕ
... ΝΤΟΝΕΚΕ
... ΕΡΩΝΙΖΟΝΑ
... ΑΤΗΝ ΜΕΝ
... ΠΡΟΣΟΚΟΝΤΕ
... ΜΕΩΣ
... ΚΗΤΗ
... ΚΑΝΤΟΝ
... ΑΠΛΑΤΟΝ
... ΕΣΤΑ
... ΤΑΝ ΜΕΛΛΟΝ
... ΕΤΗΝ ΤΗΝ
... ΔΡΟΝ ΤΗ

4782

4763



fr. 1

οβωλλο...
 ροσσο...
 φησιν...
 τινδ...
 νδ...
 ρο...

οβωλλο...
 ροσσο...
 φησιν...
 τινδ...
 νδ...
 ρο...
 οβωλλο...
 ροσσο...
 φησιν...
 τινδ...
 νδ...
 ρο...

fr. 1 (back)

οβωλλο...
 ροσσο...
 φησιν...
 τινδ...
 νδ...
 ρο...

4767

fr. 2



οβωλλο...
 ροσσο...
 φησιν...
 τινδ...
 νδ...
 ρο...
 οβωλλο...
 ροσσο...
 φησιν...
 τινδ...
 νδ...
 ρο...

4777

4762

ΔΕΙΝΟΦΛΕΓΟΜΝ
 ΕΥΜΑΝΗΤΙΣΙ
 ΙΔΗΤΕΚΙΝΑΜΕΝΑ
 ΤΙΜΟΤΗΜΕΝΤΕ
 ΟΝΟΝΦΙΛΑΥΣΑ
 ΝΑΔΕΠΙΤΕΟΙ
 ΕΣΑΥΤΟΙΚΑ
 ΥΜΕΝΗΔΕΓΕΙ
 ΑΥΣΤΑΛΕΑΚΩΝ
 ΗΣΤΙΝ ΟΣΕΚ
 ΝΕΚΑΤΑΜΕΙΦΟΜΗ
 ΡΑΥΝΕΕΒΑΡΗ
 ΑΥΚΕΤ
 ΠΡΟΥΔΕ
 ΑΛΛΑ



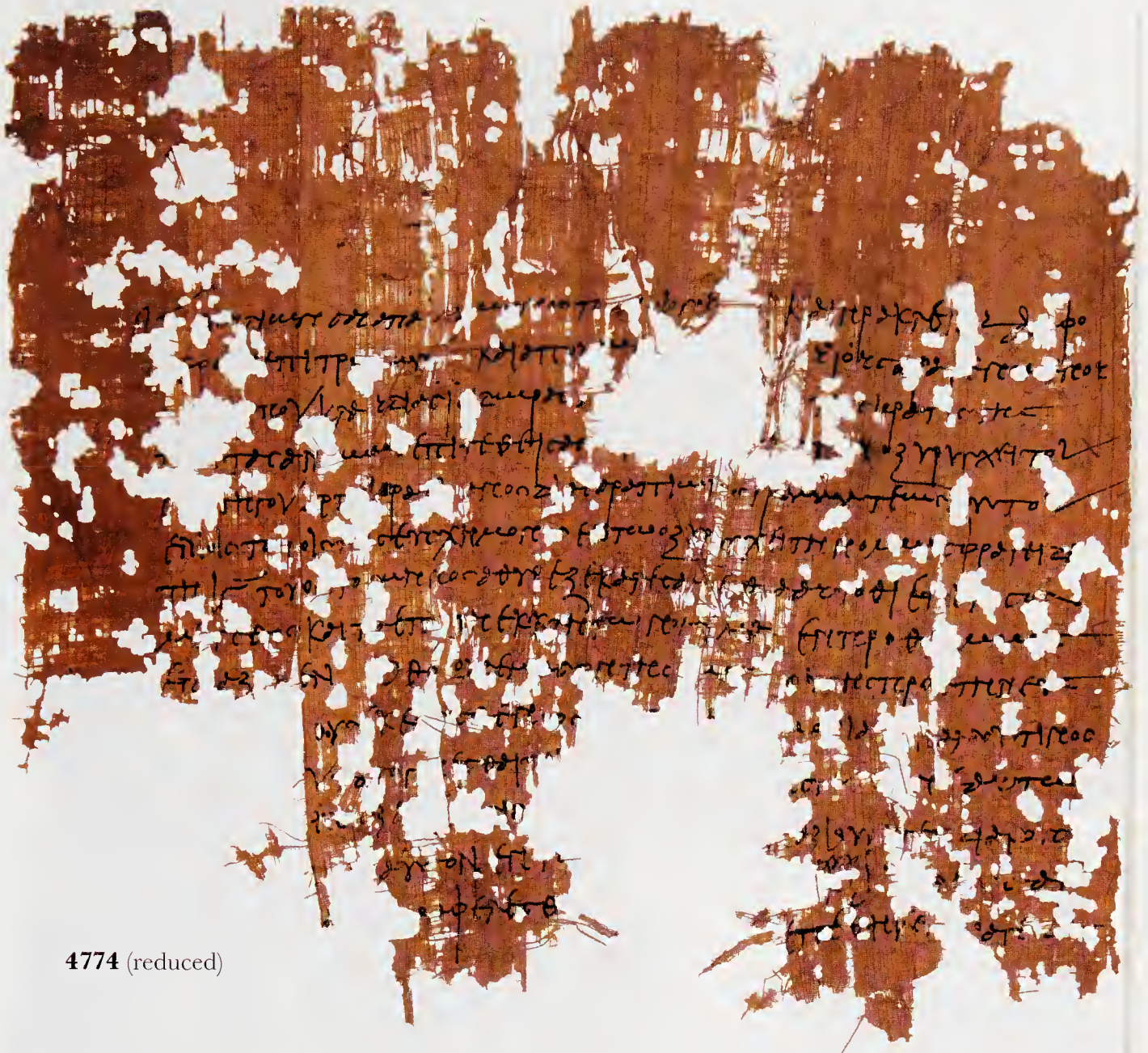
4769

ΤΑΙΣΑΡΑΙΝΩΜΗΔΕΣ
 ΠΑΤΡΟΠΡΩΤΕΡΟΥ
 ΑΝΕΣΘΑΙ ΕΠΙΔΕ
 ΤΑΝΔΕΩΝΔΟΡΩΕΦΗ
 ΜΙΠΑΡΑΚΕΧΥΣΑΜΕ
 ΝΟΣΥΠΑΡΧΕΙΝΧΡΗ
 ΝΑΙ ΕΙΜΕΝΟΥΝΕΤΕ
 ΡΟΜΗΝΤΙΣΤΡΟΠΟΙ
 ΗΝΑΥΝΑΜΕΩΣΤΟΥΣ



4773 (reduced)





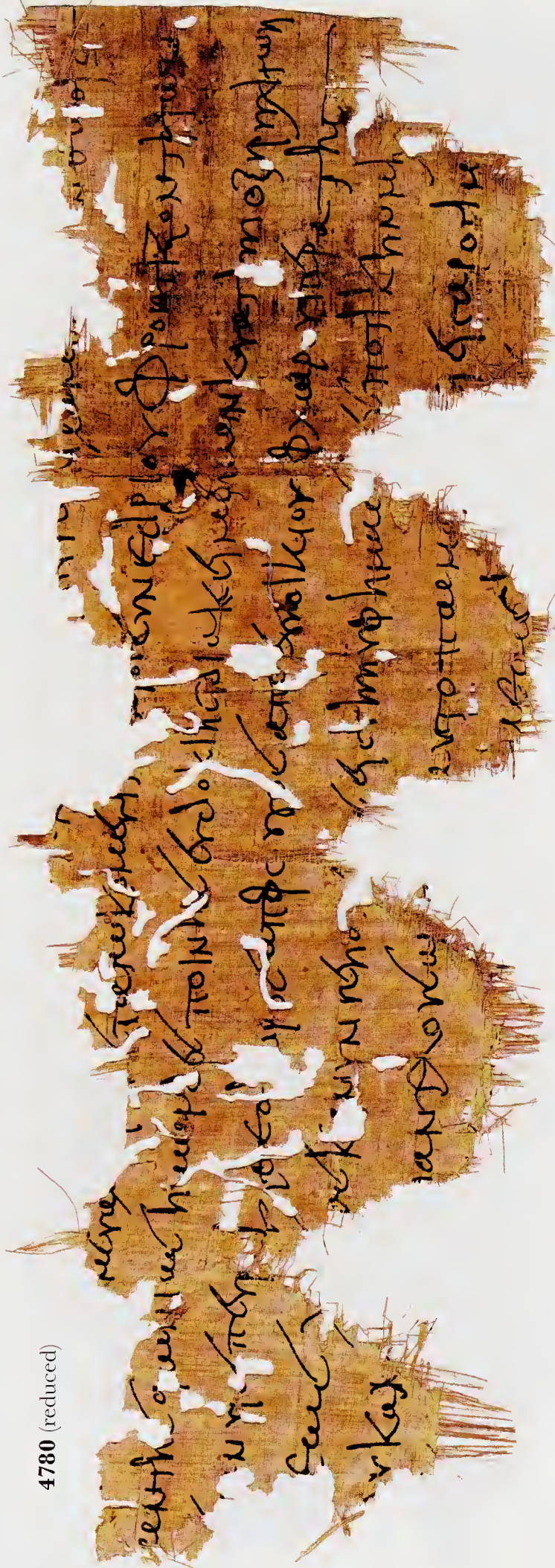
4774 (reduced)



4778 (reduced)



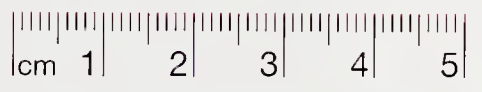
4780 (reduced)



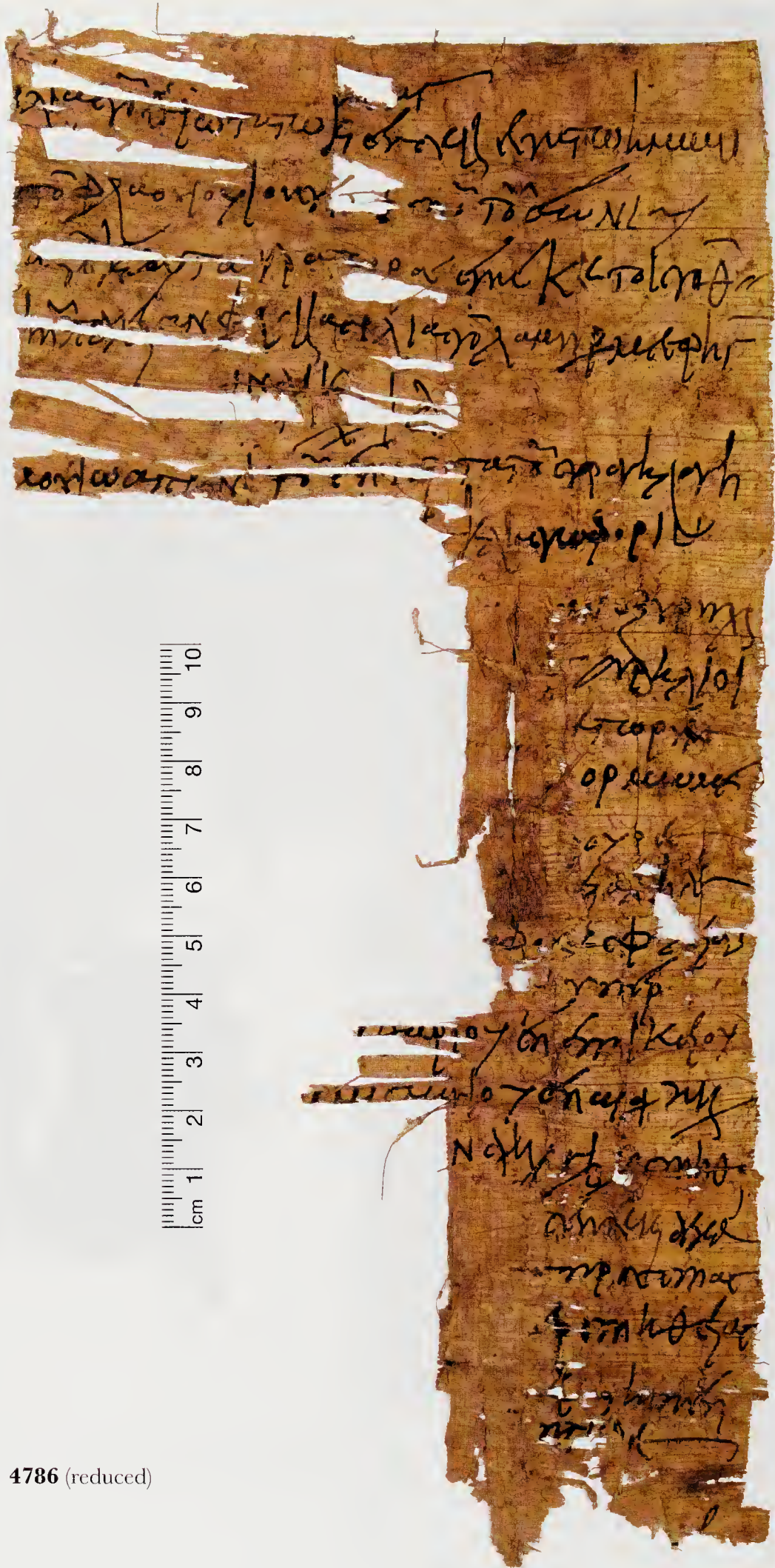
4771



fr. 1



fr. 2



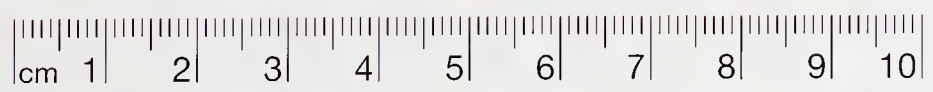
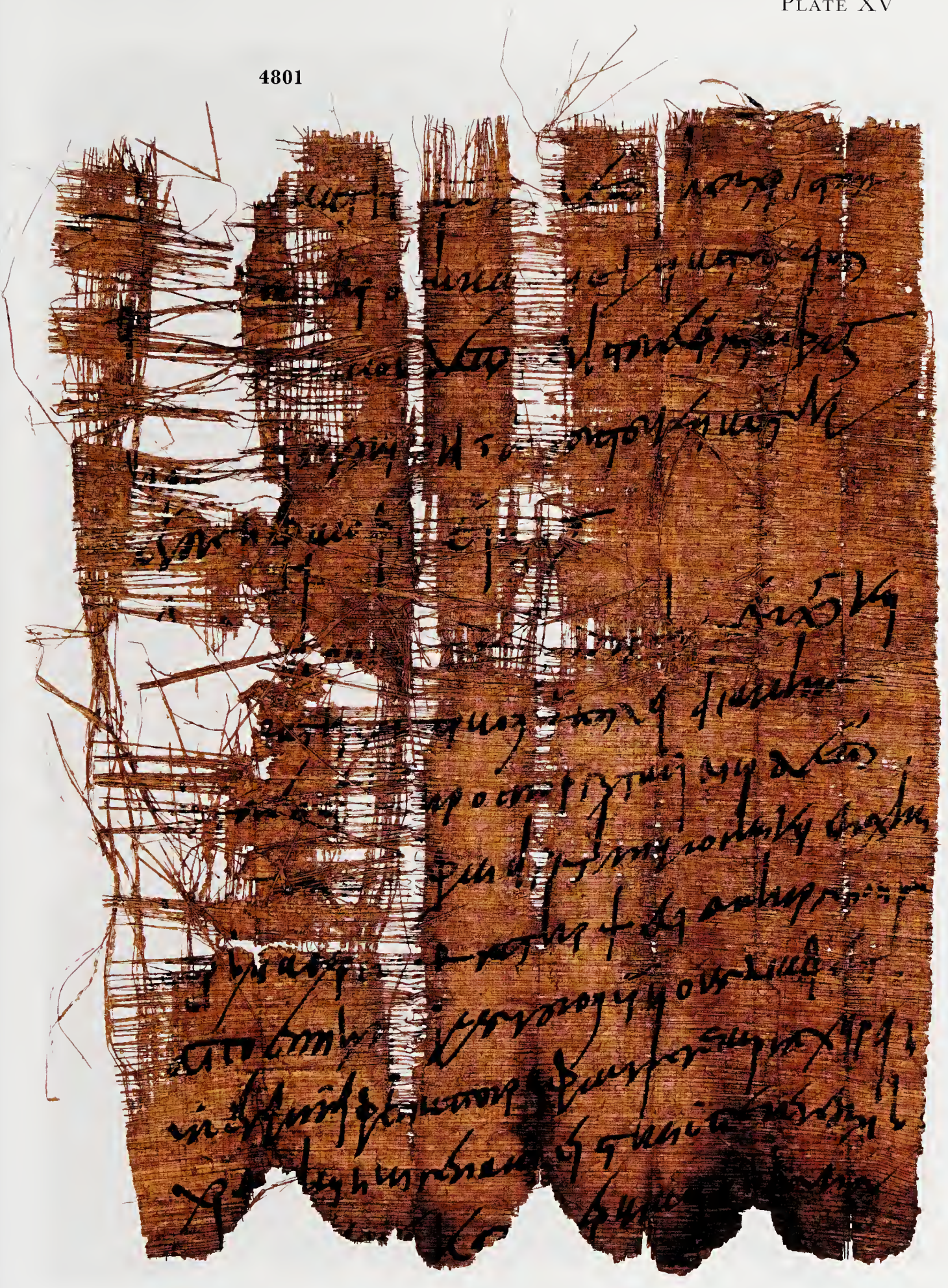
4786 (reduced)

4797

Fragmentary papyrus scroll with several columns of ancient Greek text. The text is written in a cursive hand and is significantly damaged, with large sections missing and the remaining parts heavily stained and discolored. The fragments are arranged in a roughly vertical strip, with some horizontal lines of text visible across the width of the strip.



4801



4802 (reduced)

Fragment of a papyrus scroll with Greek text. The text is written in a cursive hand and is significantly damaged, with large sections missing and the remaining characters heavily obscured by white residue. The fragment is roughly rectangular and shows the characteristic texture of papyrus.



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